

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—BISHOP MILMAN.

THE remarkable career which, to the sorrow of all India, closed at Rawul Pindee in March last, deserves more than a passing notice. He could be no ordinary man of whose death a Viceroy, on the eve of laying down his office, could say, that no event during his stay in India had called forth more universal sympathy, or greater feelings of attachment to any individual. And yet the truth of these words must at once have come home to those who heard or read them. It is too early to form an accurate estimate of the effect of Bishop Milman's episcopate upon India, and the Indian Church; nor shall we attempt it. But while India still mourns his loss, and perhaps before a successor stands in his accustomed place, it may not be amiss if we try to gather up in a brief sketch the lessons to be drawn from his life and character.

The second son of the late Sir William G. Milman, Bart., and grandson of the distinguished physician to George III., Robert Milman was born on January 25th, 1816; and was educated at Westminster, and at Exeter College, Oxford. At Westminster he was the school-fellow of his predecessor in the See of Calcutta, Bishop Cotton. At Oxford he took a second class in classics in 1837, his name appearing in the same class with that of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, late Governor of Bombay. After some months of travel on the Continent, he was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1839 to the Curacy of Winwick in Northamptonshire, which he left in 1841 on his presentation by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to the Vicarage of Chaddleworth, Berkshire. Here he remained in comparative obscurity for 10 years; and those who remember the stores of learning from which, when in India, the Bishop was able to draw, will think with interest that the foundations of that learning were laid in this quiet Berkshire village. In 1851, at the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Milman moved to the less valuable living and far more populous parish of Lamborne in the same county, where he worked till 1862. It was here that he wrote that admirable devotional exposition of the 53rd of Isaiah, entitled "The Love

of the Atonement," for which those who know the book feel that they owe him a debt that they can never repay, and which will probably be held in increasingly high repute as years roll on. But what inhabitants of Lamborne will chiefly remember, is the wonderful transformation in the state of their parish. A new Church in the hamlet of Eastbury, opened in 1853, was soon followed by middle-class schools for boys and girls, by the completion of the Lamborne national schools, and the erection of a master's house in 1856; by the building of a school and mistress's house at Eastbury; by the addition (mainly through the energy of one of the curates), of a fine large organ in 1859, which added greatly to the attractiveness of the services; and finally by the thorough restoration of the chancel of the grand parish Church in 1861, the body of the Church having been restored previously. In all these good works, which were effected at a considerable sacrifice of private fortune, Mr. Milman had the advantage of the services of the then young and rising Architect, now a Royal Academician and of established reputation, Mr. G. E. Street, with whom he formed a great friendship, and who is now on the London Committee of the "Bishop Milman Memorial Fund." These external works were but tokens of, and went side by side with, a deeper change in the character of the parish. The picture of the vicar and his colleagues in their Lamborne days is one of no common ardour and self-devotion. Mr. Milman was continually amongst his parishioners, preaching usually three times on each Sunday at Lamborne or at Eastbury, and three times in the week; speaking to his people by cottage lectures, night schools, and all agencies by which he could influence them for good; beginning each day with prayers in Church, and each Sunday with a celebration of the Holy Communion, and spending and being spent for his people with absolute self-devotion. His curates shared his spirit and his labours; and from 1858 he had the advantage—how great that advantage was, India does not need to be told—of the co-operation of his sister. One story of their Lamborne days is so characteristic of the man, that we cannot forbear repeating it. No one cared more for all manly sport than the late Bishop, but he was deeply convinced of the abuses of the turf, and, having racing stables in his own parish, knew only too well to what evils they led. On one occasion when he had refused permission for the church bells to be rung in honor of the victory of a celebrated Lamborne horse, the ringers obtained access to the tower, and locking themselves in, rang a peal. Mr. Milman could not restrain his indignation. Powerless to stop the peal, he summoned the ringers before the magistrates; and on the following Sunday, preached so vehemently upon the abuses of the turf, that no one ventured to trifle with him again. Yet

though he lamented the abuses of horse-racing, no one attended with greater care to those who were employed in the trainers' stables; and the confidence with which that care was returned, may have been seen even in India, when more than one Lamborne jockey found his way to the Bishop's Palace as to a natural home.

In 1862, at the repeated request of Bishop Wilberforce, and to the intense regret of Lamborne, Mr. Milman moved to Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire. It was a real act of self-sacrifice, for the income of his new living was smaller, the population and responsibility far greater than at Lamborne. There was moreover a miserable vicarage house, and though there had been an earnest and diligent clergyman, he had sunk beneath the load of work with utterly inadequate means to master it, and Marlow needed the same sort of vigorous and kindly care which had been spent with such effect on Lamborne. Two of Mr. Milman's curates moved with him to Marlow; one of whom was his right hand for nine years, and is now a Proctor in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. All the machinery of a well-worked parish was gradually introduced. There were frequent and hearty services in the Church, classes for communicants, for old women, for mill-girls, and for boys. The outlying parts of the parish were made to feel the influences of the Church. The schools were improved. There was one desideratum which the vicar on leaving the parish asked the people steadily to keep in view—the addition of a chancel to the Church; and it is a matter of touching interest, that before these lines can appear in print, on September 14th, this new chancel will have been opened as a parochial memorial of the vicar whom they had known and loved and lost.

Late in 1866, it fell to Lord Cranborne, now Marquis of Salisbury, to fill the vacancy in the See of Calcutta, caused by the lamented death of Bishop Cotton. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that then as now, the See was declined by several distinguished clergymen who felt unable to leave England. When at last it was known that the Bishopric had been accepted by the Vicar of Great Marlow, men only heard that he was a friend of Bishop Wilberforce and a nephew of the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's. The *Friend of India* deliberately ran him down as a Ritualist; and succeeding, as he did, one who at a difficult crisis had administered the largest diocese in Christendom with conspicuous success, and who had been cut off in the height of his usefulness, it must be admitted that Bishop Milman had a difficult task before him on his arrival. And yet, had any Anglo-Indian visited at that time Great Marlow and learned the tender regard in which the late vicar was held, and the sorrow of the parishoners at his departure, and had he, inquiring further, ascertained the self-

sacrifice which had marked Mr. Milman's whole English career, and the respect with which the diocese looked up to him and the value attached to his writings, he might have been assured that the choice of the Crown had fallen on one worthy to occupy the chair of Heber, Wilson and Cotton. How that responsibility has been discharged for the past nine years is now well known.

The work that lies before a Bishop of Calcutta when he comes to this country is of such a varied, complex, and overwhelming character, that it is very difficult for the English public, who know India only from books and papers, to understand it. To judge from the Act of 1813, by which the See was constituted, nothing seems more simple. A Bishop is the head of the Government Ecclesiastical Establishment, and his functions are simply such as the Sovereign shall define. But the India of 1876 is not the India of 1813; and the national conception of a Bishop's function and duties has changed, at least as much as the character of England's Indian Empire. As a matter of fact, no attempt has ever been made to enforce the extraordinary provisions of the Acts of 1813 and 1833 with respect to the Indian Episcopate, and to make the Royal Letters Patent supersede Prayer-book and Ordinal in defining episcopal functions. The enactments have remained and must remain a dead letter. The distinct functions of the Church and the State are now far more clearly discerned than half a century ago; and it is understood, that though the State can give authority to constitute a See and can nominate the Bishop, the Church then steps in as a separate and independent power, creates the Bishop, and gives him the full responsibilities and functions of a Bishop of the Church of Christ. No Indian Bishop, since Heber's consecration, has ever thought of regarding himself merely as a Government official or as a Bishop of the governing race. We have contemporary evidence that even in the earliest days of the Indian Episcopate, it was with this higher conception of England's duty, and without any thought that Acts of Parliament could really limit his sphere of action, that a Bishop was sent forth. Thus, writing to a friend in 1823, the late Bishop Sumner of Winchester says, "Heber, I hope, is the new Bishop of Calcutta. He will do for this situation. . . . It is indeed a station of awful responsibility and deep interest, and the man who goes out there with right feelings may well ask 'who is sufficient for these things?' But if an uncultivated field for exertion—if millions of ignorant souls—if corruptions and abominations of fearful extent and deepest dye can stir up Christian energies and warm to exertion a heart which has a sense of vital religion—then the Bishop of Calcutta is a man who has before him a high and honourable course to run, in which an evangelist even of the older time would find full scope for his abilities and a pressing call

upon his self-devotion." It is in this spirit that successive Bishops of Calcutta have fulfilled their office, and it may be doubted whether any See in Christendom has been filled, during the present century, by more remarkable or more devoted men.

Bishop Milman succeeded to the Bishopric when the chief diocesan need was not so much organisation,—which had been admirably done by his predecessor after the disintegration and confusion caused by the mutiny,—as consolidation and deepening of the spiritual life. What was needed, was by a conspicuous example, and by teaching to which, because of that example, men would listen, to make a spirit of reality and earnestness pervade the lives of European and Native Christians alike, to raise the whole tone of society, to give a unity to the scattered Christian congregations, to draw men together in spite of the natural tendency to cliques and divisions, to enforce upon Europeans their responsibility with respect to their native fellow subjects, to prosecute vigorously by every legitimate means the missionary work of the church, to represent Christianity worthily to the world without, and to draw together Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu, by acts of thoughtful kindness and forbearance. We doubt if for this special work a fitter instrument could have been raised up. Bishop Milman found himself in 1866 at the head of a diocese stretching from Mhow and the Punjab frontier on the west, to Independent Burma on the east, and containing nearly a million square miles, or two-thirds of all India. For territory under three local governments—the smallest larger than the entire Presidency of Bombay—four local administrations, and two large political agencies, he was the sole Bishop of the Anglican communion. Scattered over this vast area, as we learn from Sir R. Temple's speech at the meeting held in Calcutta on April 11th, in upwards of 300 stations, are some 100,000 Europeans and East Indians connected with the Church of England, soldiers, civilians, merchants, tea planters, indigo planters, clerks, railway servants, and the like, ministered to by about 120 clergy residing in 105 stations and visiting the other stations from thence at the Bishop's discretion. Of native Christians connected with the Church of England, we have, according to the same authority, 469 congregations, numbering about 26,000 souls. And when to this is added supervision of all the clergy, numbering now 244, and the care of all the churches and cemeteries scattered over the country, and the necessity of cherishing and developing the various educational agencies set on foot by Bishop Cotton and the diocesan organisations and funds, whether branches of English societies or of Indian origin, it must be admitted that a stronger heart than Bishop Milman's might have shrunk from the responsibility of his position. How much more, when he considered that these scattered flocks who looked to him as their chief shepherd

were but a handful in comparison with the 150 millions of heathen amongst whom they lived, and whom with that intense longing to which his episcopate bore witness, he yearned to gather in to his Master's fold.

It is characteristic of the man that Bishop Milman has left comparatively few materials for a detailed biography. Of all characters, that of which he had the most abhorrence, was the hypocrite's, and his intense reality often led him to place the most rigorous restraint on his feelings and his conduct lest he should give to others the impression of being better than he really was. This self-restraint is evident in every page of his journals which we have been privileged to see. He never wrote a line which might make any one think that he had done or was doing anything out of the common. Journeys and work involving physical fatigue that astonished the hardest-working officials in India, are chronicled cursorily as matters of every-day occurrence. There must be some in the Punjab now who remember the impression produced by the Bishop's going down from Murree to Peshawur in June 1868, to take the Chaplain's work for 10 days, when after 6 weeks' travelling in the hills and plains in the hot weather he had just reached Murree with the intention of resting for three months. All this is dismissed in a few sentences in his journal—"There being no Chaplain available," explaining everything; and there is an equally terse record on his return to Murree, June 24th, "Laid up with fever, much pain in limbs for 4 days." It is as though it could not have occurred to any one to have done anything else, though at the age of 52, and during his second hot season, he was exposing himself after several previous alternations of climate to the most trying of Indian stations at the most trying time. Bishop Milman had indeed a positive aversion to writing anything about himself or chronicling anything that he had done. Hence, with the exception of his journals which we have already characterised, there is but little material for compiling an account of his long and interesting tours, and the chief events of his episcopate beyond the recollections of his chaplains and friends. Even to his friends at home he wrote but scanty records, particularly in the later years of his episcopate when the work grew round him more and more; and he always felt this necessary breaking of communication with English friends as one of the trials of his position. Partly from disinclination to business in the strictly limited sense of that term, and partly from a feeling that the higher and more spiritual work of the episcopate was the more important, and his special vocation, he left to his domestic Chaplains a more than usually large share of the diocesan correspondence; but when he was called upon to write himself letters of counsel or rebuke, or to advise on difficult questions of doctrine and discipline, such as arise from time to

time owing to the peculiar circumstances of the church in India, or are inseparable from the growth of a nascent church, Bishop Milman could write with discernment, judgment, and breadth of view, which make us hope that some of these letters may one day be given to the public. Otherwise, though these letters and his English writings show what he was capable of writing, his episcopate will not be chiefly remembered for what he wrote, nor for great feats of policy or organisation, but rather for the deep impress of a character which has left a distinct mark on India, even beyond the limit of the communion which he ruled.

What this character was will be best seen by a brief retrospect of the episcopate now prematurely closed. On reaching Calcutta early in April 1867, Bishop Milman at once set to work vigorously to master the languages, and to acquaint himself with the nature and position of the Anglican Church in India. Not content with this, or rather that he might understand this the better, he studied the history of the country and tried to enter, by every means in his power, into the subtlety of Oriental thought. On the 17th of May, he began his first visitation by crossing over to Burma, returning on July 1st.; and as the mark which the Bishop has left on the country is largely due to these visitation tours, it may be well to state here wherein their value chiefly lay. At each European station the Bishop was usually the guest of the chief military or civil authority, or of some personal friend. During his stay he would visit the military hospitals and schools, show an interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the troops, and frequently address the soldiers at some informal meeting in the school, theatre or prayer-room, in addition to any sermon or address in Church. "Self-inspection," "courage," "the religions of India," "Buddhism" (delivered in Burma), "the Bible" are the subjects of some of the addresses thus given to British soldiers; and in the later years of his Episcopate, when a council in England, with the support and approval of the Chaplain-General, had started a "Guild of the Holy Standard" for the purpose of encouraging religion in the army, Bishop Milman threw himself into the movement with his usual energy; recommended the chaplains to form branches in their several stations; frequently addressed the guildsmen and others invited to attend the meetings, finally became warden of the Diocesan Ward of the Guild, and had the happiness before his death of learning that great good had already resulted from the Guild, and that the number of members was steadily increasing. The civil part of the community received no less care and attention. On his first visitation in 1867, he addressed the Railway servants at Allahabad in their Reading-room, in connection with which there is the following entry in his journal:—
"I preached up courtesy and sobriety as Christian testimony in a

heathen land." Similarly, at Lahore in November 1868, he addressed the Railway employes on the importance of morality and piety for English people in India. At Lucknow more than once, through the energy of the Civil Chaplain, he met a considerable number of East Indians at a social gathering, and entered with a sympathy, which a stranger might little have expected beneath that rugged exterior, into all the wants and difficulties of a class for which he felt strongly that too little had been done. A confirmation was almost always a part of the visitation programme at each station, and the earnestness and manly vigour of the Bishop's addresses have arrested many besides those for whom they were specially intended. Then he would enter, with the Chaplain and with the laity with whom he was brought into contact, into the religious and educational needs of the station and district. The answers to the articles of enquiry which had been previously sent to each clergyman, gave him a considerable insight into the condition of the Christian population, and topics thus suggested were often discussed either with the Church Committees, which at an early period of his episcopate he had established with the co-operation of Government, or at larger conferences of clergy and laity. A list of subjects discussed at one of such conferences in 1867 lies before us as we write, and is thoroughly characteristic of the Bishop's regard for all classes of the community. It embraces the following spiritual needs of the Christian population—Sunday and day schools, appointment of Church committees, proposal to establish lay readers and sub deacons, development of missions.

It will be observed that the development of missions was to be discussed at a conference not of native but of European Christians, and this precisely represents Bishop Milman's deeply-rooted conviction of the responsibility of Europeans with respect to the evangelisation of the country. At stations where there were both chaplains and missionaries, he never lost an opportunity of drawing them and their flocks together. He delighted in being the Bishop and friend of the poorest native Christian as well as of the highest official in the land. In view of a proposal which he understood to have been entertained by the missionary societies at home, to establish purely Missionary Bishoprics with jurisdiction over native Christians only, he endorsed the emphatic words of Bishop Cotton (Preface to Charge for 1863, p.p. 12-13,) that such a proposal "would be likely to cause practical evils of which it is difficult to foresee the end. It would divide the Indian Church into two separate portions, and introduce into it distinctions of race scarcely less fatal than those of caste from which native believers are with difficulty delivered. There is already too little connection between Asiatic and European Christians ; too little

sympathy between the missionaries and the ministers of English congregations. The fact that they have all a common diocesan is, or ought to be, the chief outward bond of union between them. The Bishop's influence ought to prevent the chaplains from neglecting to take interest in missionary work, and the Europeans from treating with indifference their native brethren in Christ. Even under our present constitution these evils are often apparent. If two different episcopates were introduced side by side, the two races would begin to think that they belonged to different churches, almost to different religions." Accounts of Bishop Milman's visitations of Lahore and Umritsur in 1872 and 1875 lie before us, and exactly illustrate the way in which he understood his responsibilities. Official duties, spiritual needs of Europeans, supervision and development of missions, are attended to with equal care. One day the Bishop is visiting the Lahore schools or confirming at the station church. Another day he is addressing in Urdu the students of the excellent Divinity School founded by the Rev. T. V. French of the Church Missionary Society, or confirming some native candidates in the humble temporary mission church. At Umritsur he is the guest of his old friend the Commissioner, who bears a name honoured in India. He visits all the educational establishments which have made the organisation of the C. M. S. Mission in that city remarkable, the orphanages, boys' and girls' schools, and Normal training school; confirms now in the station church, now in the mission church; presides over a meeting of laymen to discuss questions connected with the church, whether European or Asiatic, examines candidates for ordination, both European and native, and ordains them in the mission church; preaches in the station church on behalf of the local mission, meets the leading native Christians at a social meal at the mission: accepts an invitation to lunch with some native Christian ladies, and conducts family prayers before leaving; presides at the opening meeting of the Punjab Church Missionary Society's conference. One is at a loss to know, while reading the accounts of such visit, whether to admire most the many-sidedness with which the Bishop threw himself into work of such varied character, or the energy and endurance which enabled him to grapple with a task which would have borne down a weaker or less resolute man.

For we cannot forget that the power which he developed of appreciating Oriental thought and entering into the difficulties of a missionary was a laboriously acquired gift. Few men coming to India for the first time at the age of 51, and necessarily immersed in English work, would be able at 60 to preach, without notes, in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali, to conduct services in some of the less known dialects and varieties of these language as well, and

to show the same wide acquaintance with Eastern literature, as Bishop Milman had obtained in nine years. Though he always studied with one *munshi*, and often with two during his residence in Calcutta, his knowledge of the languages was chiefly acquired on tour, in trains, *dâk garis*, boats, *palkies*. An Arabic or Persian grammar would often occupy a dusty journey or a boat passage down the Indus. Occasional entries in his journals show how important the Bishop considered this to be. Thus, on August 22nd, 1867, four or five months only after his arrival, he writes,—“I managed part of the service [at Ghanjra] and the Benediction in Bengali. Mr. Driberg said the rest of the service, and interpreted my addresses. Mr. Harrison read the Preface. God forgive me for undertaking the Bishopric without more knowledge of the language.” We find him able to read Hindustani addresses at a confirmation at Patnaa week afterwards. Again on October 11th, he confirmed 4 English and 7 native candidates, and made two English addresses, but we find this entry also, “Read my second address to the natives afterwards in Urdu.” Three days later at Meerut, he distributed the prizes at the mission school and writes—“Talked with native gentry a very little afterwards. *Deus det linguam scientium*.” And again the same day after laying the first stone of a new mission church.—“Made a written address in Urdu, which I hope was understood.” On November 10th, 1867, he writes:—“Preached in mission church [Lucknow] in Urdu. Could not see very well, but was tolerably intelligible. Must have more time to read over Urdu sermons. Viceroy and others unexpectedly present.” A month later (December 3rd, 1867) at Taljhari he conducts a confirmation service in Santhali “written in Roman characters,” and adds humorously: “Got through the service with tolerable success, notwithstanding my total ignorance and the clucks which are difficult of utterance.” Later on we find him addressing candidates in Urdu without MSS. Here is an entry made at Kangra, May 17th 1868: “I made 2 addresses, rather jumbling and ungrammatical. I cannot tell how much I was understood, but I think it is needful to appear to do my best when I hope I can do so sincerely.” We find a more cheerful entry made at Goruckpore, November 22nd 1869. The Bishop was stirred up by the mission work there, conducted, as he says, with “unwearied energy, wisdom, love,” and writes, “I made two addresses, I think intelligibly and clearly. The service occasion was so good that I believe I was roused by this.” A week later he makes an apologetic entry about his having addressed the educated natives at Mozufferpore in English and not in the vernacular. “I fear many did not understand English, but I cannot trust myself in Urdu yet.” Later, as is well known, the Bishop was able to speak with considerable

fluency in Urdu and Hindi, and to speak grammatically and without MSS. in Bengali; though he never mastered the Bengali accent as well as those of the former languages. On the occasion of his last visit through the villages connected with the S. P. G. Chota Nagpur Mission in 1875, he astonished the people by conducting the confirmation, with the help of the missionaries, not in Hindi, which many could not understand, but in their own local dialects.

This laborious study of Eastern language and literature was of the greatest value to Bishop Milman in what was one of the most striking features of his visitations—the addresses which he delivered at the large centres to educated natives. Though spoken in English, they were often illustrated by apt quotations from Persian or Sanskrit writings, and they always showed a profound knowledge of the religious needs and aspirations of India. Delivered at the suggestion or request sometimes of missionaries, sometimes of members of the Brahma Samáj, sometimes of a local literary society or of leading natives, without any thought of a religious end, they were deliberately intended by the Bishop as part of his contribution to the missionary work of the church. The title might not imply a religious discussion, and the lecture would in any case be different from a sermon and would impart both thoughts and information of other than a religious character; but the aim and object was in every case the same, and the Bishop would never consent to lecture unless he were free to speak his mind about Christianity. It is a real misfortune that only one of these remarkable addresses was written down and preserved. A second was written after delivery, and sent to England to be printed, but was lost in transmission. At Delhi, Agra and Cawnpore, the Bishop lectured on "Truth" in 1867, and on "Revelation" in 1871. "Eclecticism" is the title of a very able lecture delivered before the Burrabazar Family Literary Club in Calcutta. We find him lecturing in August 1869 at Dacca, on the Parallel to India afforded by the Roman Empire at the Time of its Conversion to Christianity. The same year he lectured on "Progress" at Nagpore and on "Back-bone" at Jubbulpore. "Faith," "Man," "Enlightenment," "Prevention better than Cure," "Epic Poetry," "Decision"—gave subject matter for other lectures which were usually delivered in more places than one. Some of the Bishop's entries in his journal about these lectures have a touching interest. Thus, with reference to an address to Bengali enquirers at Dinapore or Patna on September 2nd 1867, he says: "Took line of nobility of enquiry befitting men as God's creatures and leading, as in Justin Martyr, to rest. Doctrine of Trinity unspeakably comfortable in present astonishing discoveries of science. Very attentive, and very interest-

ing lecture. May it bear fruit: about 200 present." At Delhi October 17th, 1867 he writes: "Made my address on Truth, as the aggregate of all facts and specially eternal facts, and our relation to them. A good attendance of native gentry: rather too many boys. I spoke for an hour and a half, and I heard afterwards that the natives received the address well, and that it was well adapted for the Missionary's object in asking for it. *Deus misereatur.*" November 22nd, 1867, "addressed about 500 educated natives [at Benares] on "Faith." Much attention shown. I hope it may have some fruit." February 20th, 1869.—"Spoke [to educated natives at Nagpore on "Progress"] for 1½ hour, and urged conversion on them with all my power." Speaking of a deputation of native zemindars and two addresses which he received on his visit to Cuttack, January 2nd, 1868, the Bishop writes—"They were very kindly in tone. I endeavoured to keep the same, though I hope without any forfeiture of plain truth." We notice here the same uncompromising fidelity to the great principles of his life. Two days before he was confined to the bed of sickness which he never left, he was to have lectured to the English-speaking natives, chiefly clerks in Government offices at Peshawur, but owing to the rain and to the already too evident symptoms of illness, the lecture was put off. It is not unfitting that the last of these striking addresses should have been delivered to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Umritsur, in November 1875, on a subject which could admit of no disguise, and which gave opportunity for as true a missionary heart as ever beat to give utterance to the yearnings of a life-time: "The offence of the Cross;" and none who ever heard it will easily forget that grand apology for a Christian's faith.

The fact that more than one of these addresses were delivered in school-rooms connected with Non-conformist missions raises the question of Bishop Milman's relation to Christian bodies, external to the Church of England. An uncompromising Churchman himself, he yet felt the necessity for Christians in their unhappy divisions to present as united a front as possible to the heathen world without. Hence he discouraged party-spirit within the church, and without any forfeiture of truth drew together men of many minds. After approving of some internal improvements in a church, he wrote in 1871: "I hope, however, there will be no overdoing of these externals. Hard, earnest, faithful, Godly work is what is everywhere most appreciated by our hard-working Indian laymen". He ignored parties; and whether a man was "High Church" or "Low Church", if he worked earnestly he was sure of his Bishop's care and sympathy. Supporters of the two great Missionary Societies of the Church may at times be narrow enough to look coldly on each other in England, but Bishop Milman asked no questions about C. M. S. or

S. P. G.; enough for him that a clergyman was a missionary in his diocese to entitle him to whatever sympathy and help his Bishop could give; and though it might have been supposed that his theological sympathies inclined rather to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society has placed it on record that the Bishop really died in his own Society's cause. It was not unnatural therefore that Bishop Milman should preside at meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, without which he felt that many of the Church's missions would be unable to carry on their work, and that on his visitation tours he should visit the institutions of missions not connected with the Church of England when their friends desired it. Accordingly we find him familiar, from personal experience, with some of the missionary organisations of the American Baptists in Burma (*he was particularly struck with Dr. Binney's Karen College at Rangoon*), Assam and Orissa; the American Presbyterians at Lahore, Loodiana, Rawul Pindee, Gujranwala; the American Episcopal Methodists in Rohilcund, the London Missionary Society at Benares and in Kumaon, the Free Church of Scotland in the Central Provinces, the German Evangelical Lutherans in Tirhoot, the Welsh Presbyterians at Cherrapoonjee, the Roman Catholics at Kamptee, Rangoon and Mandalay, and others whom we have not named. Of the Baptist orphanage at Cuttack he writes in January 1868: "It must be a great pleasure to feel that so many have been saved from death and are now receiving this Christian education through the mission." At Almora in 1869 he addresses the Christian inmates of the Native Leper Asylum, at the request of the missionary of the London Missionary Society. With another distinguished missionary of the same Society he formed an acquaintance that only needed time and opportunities for meeting to ripen into friendship. With all there was an interchange of kindly courtesies, an acknowledgment of good honest work wherever it was to be found, and a word of encouragement to those who were engaged in work akin to his own; and thus, without a suspicion of sacrifice of principle, the Bishop's visitation had usually an influence for good beyond the limits of his own communion, and men felt that the highest ecclesiastical official of the State could also be the accepted representative of Christianity in India.

The accumulated experience which this survey of mission work, both within and without the church, gave to one who with an already well informed mind had made Eastern thought a study, made Bishop Milman a considerable authority upon the difficult questions which from time to time arose in planting the church in India. He came to be more and more convinced of the necessity of a thorough reform in the conduct of mission schools

We find continual reference to this in his journals. In October 1867, he writes at Cawnpore: "All very promising as far as education is concerned. Only small Christian results. Many, however, enquiring. The missionaries hopeful." At Lucknow, where he was particularly struck with the excellence of all the educational establishments, he writes in November 1867: "About the same Christian fruit is visible here from the schools as in other places: a little and that good, but certainly little as yet." A little later he regrets the lack of Christians at Joynarain's College at Benares; highly approves of the orphanages, but remarks of the other schools: "There is much future promise, but the immediate results are still limited. Similar observations follow in 1868 with reference to two large mission schools in the Punjab. Late in 1869, when his experience had been considerably greater, he breaks out into a distinct expression of dissatisfaction with the system. Writing of a school in Rohilcund he says: "There was no Christian boy in the school. I was asked to say a few words, which I did, but I cannot appreciate very highly the school mission work. Its results are very doubtful—I am not sure whether better than those of Government schools." Two years later, when he had now been all over India, the Bishop makes a definite complaint: Here there seems the same misunderstanding of the method of teaching Christianity to absolute heathen, which is so universally prevalent. They are taught the facts, say of the Old Testament history, without any real spiritual interpretation. The difficulties are neither pointed out nor solved. I cannot see that the consciences are even awakened, much less formed or disciplined by the scriptural instruction. I am going, indeed, now on small grounds as I did not hear much, but the plan is so palpable, and to me so palpably painful, that a little of it is enough to manifest and condemn it. I fear that I shall not be able to get the missionaries to share my feelings. They seem wedded every where to this strange unbusinesslike and really unchristian system, and I cannot get much attention paid to my suggestions. At least no alteration is apparent." And again, "There is no system of Christian instruction. The missionaries never seem to have any definite idea or plan in their minds. They are very often unsound and inaccurate in many points. Calvinism in any shape is especially unsuited in Indian missions. Altogether I fear that while mission schools seem a necessity, they are, as they are worked now, very unlikely to have any definite Christian results. . . . The Government school undermines the superstitions as much as the mission school. Whether the latter schools do not in some cases actually prejudice the truth is a difficult question." We add one further entry from the same year (1871) "They sang hymns. Christian hymns seemed out of place in the mouths of heathen

(mostly) children, but this is the way of missions, and I think one of the causes of insufficient success, as there is the usual want of distinction between Christians and non-Christians." We have purposely suppressed the names of the schools and missions to which these remarks applied, nor have we indicated which were and which were not connected with the Church of England, because they represent Bishop Milman's opinion, which he never changed with reference to the whole subject of missionary education. He thought, that with some exceptions, the system needed a thorough reform in schools connected with the church and in those connected with other societies alike, or rather that a clear definite system needed to be created.

We have perhaps sufficiently indicated the character of Bishop Milman's visitation work; the thoroughness with which he entered into every phase of church work connected either with Europeans or with Asiatics, taking a personal part in it himself, so that he was at once the chief chaplain and the chief missionary of his diocese; and the laborious care with which he prepared himself for this duty. But it ought not to be omitted that he generally made time to show an intelligent interest in other than religious work, and in all that tended to develop the resources and humanize the character of the country of his adoption. Many a master of a Government secular school has eagerly looked forward to his expected visit. Jails, lunatic asylums, hospitals, medical schools, and all institutions calculated to relieve misery or advance the nation, he considered that a Christian Bishop should help forward and encourage. We need not refer to his exertions on behalf of the Lady Canning Home for training nurses at Calcutta, which would scarcely have come into being but for the Bishop's energy and determination. He never forgot that he was a citizen as well as—and all the more *because* he was—a Christian; and he sought to identify himself by every means in his power with the inhabitants of the country which had become his home.

The extent and character of Bishop Milman's visitation tours have no parallel in the history of an Indian See. It is not simply that he travelled over more ground, for that would follow from the increased facilities for communication. The amount of work which was crowded into these tours and the physical endurance which it entailed, made the Bishop conspicuous even in a country where hard work among officials is the rule. The greater ease and rapidity of communication, as was well pointed out by the Archdeacon of Calcutta at the meeting called to do honour to Bishop Milman on April 11th, in reality makes a Bishop's work in such a diocese as Calcutta harder instead of easier; for, as there is always more work than he can do, he is thereby enabled and being enabled, is compelled to do a much greater amount of work

in a shorter time. The easy pleasant marching which formed so agreeable a season of retirement to a Bishop in the old time is impossible in these days, when he has to travel by night and work by day, and thinks himself fortunate when he is allowed to stay for a few days at the comfortable houses where he is always made a welcome guest. To travel in this way for eight months in each year, in hot and cold weather, over a tract of country characterised by climates as various as those of Europe, and to keep to a printed programme all this time, which rarely gives a week at the same station, as if health could be as much depended on as an Indian sun, will at least be considered trying; and yet this is what Bishop Milman did for nine years. The journeys by themselves, let alone the work at the stations, were often enough to daunt a younger man. On each of the two occasions of his going down the Punjab frontier, he had difficulties of this kind to contend with. In 1868, after hurrying with unprecedented rapidity from Peshawur to Dera Ismail Khan by horse-dâk, carriage and *palky*, passing through Kohat, Bunnoo and Sheikh Budin, he dropped down the river by boat to Dera Ghazi Khan, ill all the time, and was indebted to a steamer which he met for some medicine which somewhat relieved him. Yet, though still ill, he left nothing undone at Dera Ghazi Khan; held a confirmation, about which he modestly wrote: "I made two addresses as well as I could in my fever," and pushed on to Mooltan to be there on the appointed day. In 1872 he had a rough night-journey by moonlight from the Indus to Bunnoo, a distance of about 64 miles, partly on horseback, partly by mail cart, being on the verge once of riding into a quick-sand, and riding and driving back after one night at the station. In 1869 he meets with difficulties in crossing from Meerut to Mooradabad: "Two ferries and other difficulties. About 15 miles from Mooradabad I stuck fast and had to sit under a tree for 3 or 4 hours, and went on afterwards by bullocks and buffaloes." In 1873 he astonished the officials in the Central Provinces by travelling by bullock coach from Nagpore to Raipore and back, a distance of 360 miles, and returning on the eighth day, after consecrating two churches (Raipore and Bhundara) and two cemeteries, spending the Sunday at Raipore and pausing on his journey only for 2 hours for breakfast and two for dinner in the 24 hours. In the rains of 1875, during his Assam tour, the horse which he was driving from Sebsaugor to Nazerah for a Sunday service broke down, and the Bishop had to walk four miles, just before noon, on the hottest day which the thermometer had recorded during the year. After some refreshment he preached to the planters, who had gathered for service, and riding back nine miles to Sebsaugor in the afternoon, took a second service for the residents at once, having officiated there early previously; and the next morning was up early

visiting the various schools. When it is considered that this fatigue was undertaken by an over-worked man of nearly 60, it will appear the more remarkable ; but the sad journey which removed him from our midst early in the current year, proved that these extraordinary powers of endurance could be fatally overstrained.

But it was the combination of physical fatigue with unresting brain-work that chiefly distinguished Bishop Milman's visitation tours. The diocese had never been so thoroughly and regularly visited before. Numerous small stations and missionary outposts were visited by a Bishop for the first time ; and often, as a result of these visits, fresh churches sprang up or services began to be held on Sunday when the day had been but little observed before.

An episcopal visitation should be held once in three years, and in spite of his gigantic diocese, Bishop Milman very nearly succeeded in achieving the task. Only twice in his episcopate did he seek any rest at a hill station during the hot weather. The first occasion in 1868 has already been alluded to, as also the self-denial with which the earlier part of that short rest was given up. The Bishop took the opportunity of his being at Murree this year to visit Cashmere. The only other occasion was in 1871, when he spent four months at Mussoorie ; visiting, however, from thence Annfield, Chakrata, Koorkee and Dehra. These were really the only periods of leisure for study which he enjoyed during his life in India, and he writes with pleasure of his studying at Mussoorie, Persian, Urdu, Theology, and a little Bengali, and examining a box of books which he had received : " Most of it a mass of unorthodoxy, but I hope (he adds) the reading may be useful, 'Thy word is truth.' It certainly comes out more and more as *the truth*, the more it is studied." At Mussoorie, too, he gave Wednesday evening lectures on the principal present difficulties in religion and their practical solution in Christ crucified, connected with which there is, in his journal, this characteristic entry : " There was a large attendance for a week day at first, but after a time it diminished. One very long lecture I fear repelled several people, and the evening was continually wet. I hope, however, I have myself thought out several problems with greater care and exactness in consequence, and if opportunity should occur, prepared myself to discuss these points with greater patience, humility, and comprehension."

Bishop Milman's first visitation of his diocese began on May 17th, 1869, and ended on June 8th, 1870. He had in this time traversed the whole Province of Bengal, (including as it then did Assam), the N.-W Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India and British Burma. The experience gained in this tour enabled him to arrange his time in future, and the plan which he adopted, in

rough outline, was as follows: Calcutta was his head-quarters for the first half of each year, though he made short tours in Bengal, which occupied altogether about two months out of the six. Then in the rains he would visit Burmah, or Assam, and East Bengal, and as the visitation was triennial, for at least one season in every three, he might have rested; but only on the two occasions, to which we have before alluded, 1868 and 1871, would he retire to a hill station. In 1874 he remained in Calcutta until July, and then began, thus early, his long tour for the year. These long tours, which occupied, to speak generally, the last four months of each year, usually began with some of the hill stations, which were visited rapidly and without any thought of rest in September and sometimes part of October; stations in the plains being visited *en route*, so that there was no consecutive sojourn in the hills. The Bishop always tried to be in Calcutta again by Christmas, if it were possible. In this way the North-Western Provinces, (except Rohilcund) and Oudh were visited in 1867, 1871 and 1874; Rohilcund, Central Provinces and Central India in 1869 and 1873, the Punjab in 1868, 1872 and 1875. These constituted the long tours, the latter part of 1870 being occupied with a Metropolitcal tour through Madras, Ceylon and Bombay, of which, unfortunately, the Bishop kept no journal and has left the scantiest memorials. Burma was visited in 1867, 1870, and 1873 with unfailing regularity; Assam and East Bengal with equal regularity in 1869, 1872 and 1875; the Andamans in 1870 and 1874. As the visitation of Bengal consisted of a series of small tours, it is hard to speak of the province as a whole, but we observe that Darjeeling and stations along the Loop line of the East Indian Railway, were visited in 1870, 1873 and 1875; Tirhoot and North Bengal in 1869 and 1874 (during the famine), and Orissa in 1867-68 and 1872. The principal mission fields of the two Church Societies in Bengal, those of the Church Missionary Society in the Kishnaghur district and in the Santhal Pergunnahs, and those of the Propagation Society in the Sunderbunds and in Chota Nagpore, were tended with watchful care; the Bishop's visits to them being at the least triennial, while to Chota Nagpore he went five times, in 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873 and 1875. It was always a matter of regret to him that, owing to the overwhelming size of his diocese, he could not visit these missions regularly every year. It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to give an epitome of these interesting tours. Their effect on India generally, is seen by the way in which the country was stirred from Cape Comorin to Peshawur at the news of the Bishop's death, and by the words in which a retiring Viceroy gave expression, at once to a strong personal feeling and to an universal grief. But we may perhaps just notice a few prominent features

in these tours before passing on. The first impressions of a strange country on a man of thought are always worth noticing, and Burma, as the scene of his first visitation tour, had always a special interest for him. "I have great hopes" he writes at Rangoon on May 30th 1867, "that eventually great conversions may take place among the kindly and honest people, who like the English and are much liked by them." He was much struck with the American Baptist Karen College under the direction of Dr. Binney, and constantly deplored the comparative weakness of the Propagation Society's missions; feeling, as his predecessor had done, that it was impossible for a Bishop of Calcutta to do justice to Burma, and that Rangoon needed a Bishop of its own to be at the head of the entire Anglican Church in that Province, and to head, in Bishop Cotton's words, missions "as vigorous, aggressive and widely spread among the purely Burmese population, as those of the American Baptists have been among the Karens." In 1870, and again in 1873, Bishop Milman continued his visitation up the Irrawaddy as far as to Mandalay, where a mission of the Propagation Society had now been established, and on the latter occasion he had an interview with the King. In 1867 there had been a difficulty, which the Bishop thus records in his journal: "I had asked for a seat as I cannot sit on my haunches without difficulty. Moreover it looks rather too like adoration, especially with this King. I find it is contrary to their etiquette for any but a religious, in the Buddhist sense of the word, to have such a recognition, and therefore it seems to imply an inferiority of Christianity, if I consent to waive the application." The Bishop did not regret the *contretemps*, as he thought he noticed a little too much tendency to connect the mission with the Court. "The King," he writes, "seems to have too much hold upon the school, and the impression seems to be general that conversion to Christianity is unlikely to take place in and through the school." A few conversions did take place in later years indirectly through the school, but the subsequent history of the Mandalay mission has shown the general correctness of the Bishop's views.

During the 1873 visitation, a Bishop for the first time visited Tonghoo; and the ecclesiastical questions which were submitted to him then for solution, were as tangled and difficult as the subsequent political questions connected with the boundary between the Karens and the Upper Burmans. The question was, whether to accede to the request of a large body of Karens, who had been converted by agency of American Baptists, that they might be admitted into the communion of the Church of England; and as a similar question arose in 1868 and 1869 in Chota Nagpore, it may be well without re-opening controversy, to state that Bishop Milman entirely accepted the general principle of non-interference with the

work, and the sphere of work, of other religious bodies, as his relations to them abundantly testify; while at the same time he felt that circumstances might arise which would not justify the church in refusing to accede to the request of a large body external to it. He thought that such circumstances had arisen in Chota Nagpore with which his name will always be connected, and in this opinion he had the unanimous support of the local officials and European residents. Even those who then thought him mistaken, now that bitter feelings have been allayed, and that in the place of one ill-supported divided mission, two strong missions are working side by side with ample scope for the energy of each, and are bearing Christian fruit to which there is no parallel in the diocese, will probably admit that the Bishop's action has been justified. Similarly at Tonghoo the Bishop gradually came to the conviction after weighing all the evidence, that if the Church of England could afford to send missionaries to the disaffected Karens who desired to join her communion, she would not be justified in refusing, in the belief that unless thus received and cared for, they would, as some have since done, either join the Roman Catholic Mission or lapse into heathenism. The historic places which Bishop Milman visited on his first long tour in 1867, Patna, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benares, had for him an intense interest, and had we space we could quote extracts from his journals which would have an interest even for those who are familiar with the scenes. At Agra he ordained four European missionaries. He was amazed at the grandeur of the Taj, but remarks, "Pity so much good work thrown away on a tomb." At Delhi he consecrated the excellent mission church, built as a memorial of the missionaries and native Christians of Delhi who fell in the mutiny. Of Lucknow he remarks, "I have not seen any place in which there was so much educational activity, or in which the fruits were so promising, intellectually and socially." At Benares he writes, "the C. M. S. work seems very good and thorough as far as I could judge. They gave me a hearty welcome and I gave them all the help and recommendation which I could. I am thankful for the comfort thus given and received."

In the Punjab the Bishop was specially struck with the mission work at Umritsur and Peshawur and the Divinity College at Lahore. Of the Umritsur mission he writes in 1867: "One of the most active and satisfactory that I have seen," and he retained this opinion to the last. Peshawur, indeed, has a sad interest, for his last days are connected with it. He had been much struck with the progress made since 1872, had entered into detail of the mission, held an Urdu confirmation, attended the bazaar preaching, administered the communion to the native communi-

cants. His last sermon was in the station church on behalf of the local mission ; and the following morning, when too ill really to stand, he insisted on being present at the distribution of prizes at the mission school, and addressing those present upon the blessings of a Christian education, and then left the school for the sick bed from which he was never to rise. But we must pass on from the notice of these visitation tours. What an impetus he gave to church building throughout the diocese, and how liberally he contributed himself, how munificently he supported the Additional Clergy Society, and laboured to provide his scattered countrymen with the means of grace, there are many in India who can testify. That Ajmere and Cachar have resident clergy is due partly, no doubt, to local liberality, but in no small degree to Bishop Milman's exertions ; and to many a railway community throughout the country his familiar face was not simply that of a carnal traveller, but of a messenger of peace.

We have said that the distinguishing feature of Bishop Milman's episcopate is to be looked for, not so much in administrative policy, as in the impression of a character upon the church. Of episcopal charges he has left but two, one written at the end of 1867, after nine months in India, and the other written in 1871 ; and these are remarkable rather for suggestive thoughts than as noting epochs in the history of a church. The ripened experience of the last five years has unfortunately never been summarised in a charge or pastoral. It seems that the Bishop was anxious to be able to report, in a third charge, that definite steps had been taken to extend the Indian Episcopate. The solution of this question, which had given him the greatest care and anxiety and which was the cause of his summoning an important conference of the Indian Bishops in November 1873, has now passed into other hands. It is far too large a subject for more than a passing allusion here, but a sketch of Bishop Milman's Episcopate would be very incomplete which did not place on record his entire concurrence with his predecessor, in the opinion, that the first great need for the diocese of Calcutta was the formation of two new dioceses which should relieve the Bishop entirely of all episcopal responsibility for Burma on the one side and the Punjab on the other. The foundation of these two Sees, at Lahore and Rangoon, was the main object of his projected visit to England in 1876 ; and it is satisfactory to know that there is every prospect of the Bishop's wishes being carried out with the co-operation of the Secretary of State, the diocese of Winchester having undertaken to raise an endowment for a See at Rangoon, while the Bishopric of Lahore is being founded as a special memorial of the life and work of Bishop Milman.

Yet, though the bent of his mind was rather towards spiritual

than towards administrative work, it could not but be, that during the nine years of his episcopate, important questions should press for solution. That excellent institution near the General Hospital at Calcutta, which almost owes its existence to the Bishop, the Lady Canning Home—shows with what energy he could throw himself into the Christian work of providing trained nurses for the sick and suffering; and to omit other and smaller matters, there are two with which Bishop Milman's name will always be associated. One is the assignment of a definite sphere for lay work within the church. Very early in his episcopate he took up the question of church committees which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor; and after due consultation matured a plan whereby in each station, at least, two laymen should be associated with the chaplain in such church matters as are not strictly of a spiritual character. But a more important step was the appointment of sub-deacons and lay-readers. The Bishop noticed that many laymen would gladly assist the clergy in church, school, hospital, or district work, if they could feel that they were not stepping out of their proper sphere, but were acting under diocesan sanction; and hence he proposed to give a commission to act as sub-deacons or lay-readers, to such as desired either office, and might be recommended for it by the clergy. The number of sub-deacons has steadily increased, the value of their work has been thankfully recognised; and in a country like India, where we can never expect a sufficient number of clergy, the system admits of very large extension.

The other measure with which Bishop Milman's name will be associated, is the development of Anglo-Indian education on the lines laid down by Bishop Cotton. Though not naturally a great educationist, he threw all his energy into the work from the same conscientious sense of duty which characterised him through life. On September 21st, 1871, he consecrated the chapel of the "Bishop Cotton School," Simla; and with reference to this writes in his journal: "In my sermon I alluded to Bishop Cotton and the blessing his work had been to the country in the preparation of good, manly boys and men. Certainly in this age more and more seems to depend on education and the real character of education. Its effect appears to me to remain more surely than it did in earlier times. I imagine it goes deeper into the heart and touches the springs of moral character more than it used in my own young days." Through the Bishop's activity a grant of £5,000 was obtained for Anglo-Indian education from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and to this grant, in no small degree, are owing the excellent diocesan schools at Naini Tal and the Pratt Memorial School at Calcutta. We need not refer to his exertions last year in the same cause, to the special fund raised,

with the cordial support of the late Viceroy, for the purpose of bringing a good education within reach of the very poorest, or to the munificent liberality with which he aided all the educational projects in his diocese. How many children were supported at his own cost at these various schools will never be fully known. Nor is it necessary to add that his sympathies were not limited by race. An excellent Bengali school for high-caste native girls at Bhowanipore was almost entirely dependent on the Bishop; and we rejoice to hear that many of his native friends are trying to perpetuate his memory by placing this school on a permanent basis.

But, after all, it is the man, rather than the measures, that has made that distinct mark on the country of which we are all conscious. A rugged exterior and an occasional bluntness of manner, could not conceal the breadth and tenderness of the heart within. When death removes a great man from our midst, we lose sight of any little peculiarities and think only of the grand features of the character. India can ill afford to lose such self-sacrifice, devotion, learning, power of sympathy, as have been long associated with the name of the Bishop of Calcutta. We ourselves have to mourn the loss, not only of a great Bishop, but of a valued contributor to this *Review*.* One who can reckon amongst his personal friends the highest and the lowest in the land, who can draw together men of all classes, all parties, all religions, is such an one as India needs and such an one as India mourns. The time must come when Bishop Milman's episcopate will be reckoned amongst the things of the distant past, and when men may be scarcely conscious of the impetus which he gave to Christian work in the country of his adoption; but while recollections are clear, and while the generation still lives which has known and loved him, we shall do well to gather up the lessons of his life, and by endeavouring to receive the impress of his character, to lay our wreaths of affection upon an already honoured grave.

* Few of our readers will have forgotten two powerful articles that appeared in the *Calcutta Review* rather more than a year ago—one on Mill's *Three Essays*, the other on *Papal Infallibility*. Both were from the pen of the great and good man whose loss we now mourn.—
EDITOR.

ART. II.—FRENCH MARINERS ON THE INDIAN SEAS.*

IN the history of the French in India, I have brought the story of the struggle for empire in the East of that gallant and high-spirited people to the year 1761. From that date the land contest really ceased. For although in 1782, France did despatch a considerable force to aid Haidar Ali, the decrepitude of its leaders and the death of Haidar combined to render its efforts fruitless. From 1761, indeed, the French ceased to be principals in the contest. Thenceforth the adventurous sons of her soil were forced to content themselves with the position of auxiliaries to native princes. The foremost amongst them, levying contingents of their own countrymen, took service in the courts which showed the greatest inclination to resist the progress of the increasing power of the English. Thus the younger Lally, Law, Raymond, de Boigne, Perron, Dudrenec, and many others became the main supports upon which Haidar Ali, the Nizam, Sindia, and Holkar rested their hopes for independence, if not for empire. But, after all, although in many cases these adventurers accomplished much in the way of organising resistance to the English, they did not succeed in their own secret views. They failed entirely to resuscitate the dream of successful rivalry to England. One by one they disappeared before the steady advance of the foe they had once hoped to conquer. Sometimes, as at Haidarabad, dismissed on the requisition of an English governor; again, as in 1802, beaten by the English general, they gradually renounced the cause as hopeless, and finally ceased to pursue the struggle. The hopes which had glimmered but very faintly after the death of Haidar, which had again been somewhat rekindled by the prudent measures of Mádháji Sindia, were dealt a fatal blow by Lord Lake at Aligarh and at Delhi, and were finally crushed by that stalwart soldier on the field of Láswári.

But there was another element upon which the fortunes of France still flourished even after the blow dealt at her in 1761. Strange, indeed, it was, that during the contest which terminated in that year, she had never sent simultaneously to the field

* The principal authorities for this article are :—

(1) Extracts made from the Naval Archives of France ; (2) Transactions in India, published in 1786 ; (3) Dr. Campbell's Naval History of Great Britain ; (4) Histoire de la dernière

Guerre, written by a French officer engaged in it ; (5) Histoire de la Campagne de l'Inde sous les ordres du Bailli de Suffren, Trublet, (1802) ; (6) Le Bailli de Suffren dans l'Inde, Roux (1867) ; (7) Historical Sketches of the South of India, Wilks.

of action a capable general and a capable admiral. It is true that La Bourdonnais combined both qualities in his own person, and the great things he had then been able to effect ought to have served as an example for the times that were to follow. But they did not. La Bourdonnais' stay in the Indian seas was short. He was succeeded by the feeble Dordelin. And subsequently, when the Government of Louis XV. made the greatest effort France had till then made to establish an empire in India; when it sent out a general who had won distinction on the battle fields of Flanders, and soldiers who had helped to gain Fontenoy and Laffeldt, it selected as the colleague of the general an admiral of whom it has been written that "to an unproductive brain he added infirmity of purpose."

Subsequently to the capture of Pondichery in 1761, the position was reversed. When, eighteen years later, Bussy, gouty, infirm, and whom self-indulgence had made halting and undecided, was sent to command the land forces, he had as his naval colleague a man whose name, covered with an eternal ray of glory, still shines as one of the most illustrious, if not the most illustrious, in the naval annals of France. I allude to Pierre André de Suffren.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th February 1763, had restored Pondichery to France, but it was a Pondichery dismantled, beggared, bereft of all her influence. During the fifteen years which followed this humiliating treaty, Pondichery had been forced to remain a powerless spectator of the aggrandisement of her rival on Indian soil. Even when, in 1778, the war was renewed, the Government of France was but ill prepared to assert a claim for independence, still less for dominion, in Eastern and Southern India.

The natural results followed. Chandernagore fell without a blow (10th July 1778). Pondichery, ably defended for forty days against vastly superior forces by its Governor, Bellecombe, surrendered in the month of September following; the fleet, commanded by M. de Tronjoly,—a feeble copy of Count d'Aché,—abandoned the Indian waters without even attempting to save Mahé. All seemed lost. The advantages gained by the English appeared too great to be overcome; when the marvellous energy of Haidar Ali, the Muhammadan ruler of Mysore, gave a turn to events which upset the most carefully laid calculations, and communicated to his French allies the most brilliant hopes.

On the 4th April 1769 Haidar Ali had dictated peace to the English under the walls of Madras. By one of the articles of this treaty the contracting parties bound themselves to assist each other in defensive wars. But when, during the following year, Haidar was attacked and was hardly pressed by the Márhátás,

the English refused their aid. Haidar never forgave this breach of faith.

When, therefore, some nine years later, he saw the English embroiled alike with the French and the Márhátás, Haidar resolved to take his revenge. He first sent to the English an intimation that he should regard an attack on the French settlement of Mahé, contiguous to his own possessions on the western coast, as equivalent to an attack upon himself. The English notwithstanding took Mahé and endeavoured apparently to pacify the ruler of Mysore by sending to him ambassadors charged with presents. These latter were, however, little calculated to produce such an effect. They consisted of a pigskin saddle and a rifle which it was found impossible to load. Haidar returned them with contempt, and prepared for war.

His first efforts in the autumn were eminently successful. Outmanœuvring the English general, Munro, he defeated and took prisoners (9th and 10th September) a detachment of 3,720 men, of whom upwards of 500 were Europeans, under the command of Colonel Baillie, at Perambákam. He then captured Arcot and some minor places.

But the ruler of Mysore had not been unmindful of the French alliance. Early in the year he had intimated to the representatives of that nation in India his determination to strike a decisive blow at their rivals,—a blow which must be fatal, if the French would only sufficiently aid him. But the ministers of Louis XVI. were not alive to the importance of the stake to be played for. In that year, when England was engaged in a life and death struggle with her own children in America, a fleet under Suffren and 3,000 men under a skilled leader such as De Boigne, would have sufficed to clear of her rivals the whole country south of the Vindhya range. But though roused by the exhortations of Haidar, and catching, though dimly, a feeble idea of the possibilities before her, France, instead of sending a fleet and an army to India, contented herself with the despatch of a squadron and a regiment to guard the isles of France and of Bourbon, which the English had not even threatened.

This squadron, commanded by M. Duchemin de Chenneville, found on its arrival at its destination that the French islands were perfectly well protected by the small detachment of vessels commanded by the French admiral on the Indian station, the Chevalier d'Orves. This officer, who had succeeded de Tronjoly, at once assumed the command of the new arrivals. He had then at his disposal six serviceable men-of-war, one frigate, and two corvettes. It was not a large fleet, but it carried with it one of the finest regiments in the French army, a regiment such as, if landed

in India, should have sufficed to render the campaign of 1781 decisive.

A glimmering of the chances thus possibly awaiting him seems to have decided d'Orves to take this small fleet and this regiment to the Coromandel coast. He sailed then from the islands on the 14th October and sighted the coast near Kadalúr on the 17th February following (1781.) Before referring to his subsequent conduct, let us take a glance at the position of affairs on the mainland on that date.

Haidar, having outmanœuvred Munro, beaten Baillie, and captured Arcot, had laid siege to Ambúr, Vellore, Wandewash, Permacól, and Chingleput. The first named of these places surrendered on the 13th January, but on the 18th, Haidar, having received intelligence that the new English general, Sir Eyre Coote, had left Madras the previous day, with the intention of attacking him, raised the siege of the other places, and massed his forces. Haidar at first manœuvred to cut off Sir Eyre Coote from Madras, but Coote careless of this, marched upon Pondichery—the inhabitants of which had shaken off the English yoke, and had begun to arm the natives—re-victualling the fortified places on his route. Haidar turned, and, following, overtook him on the 8th February, cutting him off from the country inland. As they approached Kadalúr, marching in almost parallel lines, Haidar caught a glimpse of the French fleet under d'Orves, guarding the coast, and preventing the possibility of any supplies reaching the English by sea. At last, he thought, he had them. Coote possessed only the ground on which his army marched. He was between the sea guarded by d'Orves, and the grain-producing country shut out from him by Haidar. Sir Eyre Coote has recorded his opinion as to the fatal nature of his position. There seemed but one chance open to him, and that was that Haidar might be tempted to fight him. He tried then every expedient to induce that warrior to quit his lair. But the Asiatic was far too wary. He knew that, barring accidents, his enemy must surrender without firing a shot.

Haidar, meanwhile, had communicated with d'Orves and had begged him to land the regiment he had on board. He had pointed out to him likewise all the advantages of his position, the fact that the last army of the English was at their joint mercy, and that Madras was guarded by but 500 invalids.

Never had France such an opportunity. It was an absolute certainty. There was neither risk nor chance about it. The English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes was on the western coast. D'Orves had but to remain quietly where he was for a few days and the English must be starved into surrender. Sir Eyre Coote saw it; Haidar Ali saw it; every man in the army

saw it ; every man in the fleet saw it, excepting one. That man was d'Orves himself. Of all the positions in the world that one which most requires the possession of a daring spirit is the command of a fleet. That Government is guilty of the greatest crime which sends to such a post a man wanting in nerve, deficient in self-reliance. Once before had France committed the same fault by entrusting in 1757, to the feeble d'Aché, the task of supporting Lally. But at least d'Aché fought. His feeble successor, d'Orves, was not required to fight. He was required to ride at anchor in the finest season of the year, a time when storms are unknown in the Indian seas, and see an enemy starve,—and he would not.

D'Orves, described by his own countrymen as a man "indolent and apoplectic," saved Sir Eyre Coote. In spite of the protestations of Haidar, he sailed for the islands on the 13th February, taking away every man he brought with him, and having accomplished nothing. The English force at once obtained supplies from Madras.*

Haidar, thus left to himself, fought Coote on the 1st July at Chilambram, and, after a desperate contest, was beaten. On the 27th August following, he again engaged Coote at Parambákam, and this time not unequally. Haidar, however, left the field to the enemy. On the 18th February following (1782) Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, after combating for three days, succumbed to the superior numbers of Tippú Sáhib. It was about the period of this last encounter that France appeared once again upon the scene, better though not perfectly represented ; for while she entrusted her fleet to the greatest of all her admirals, she committed the charge of her army first to an incapable sailor, only to replace him by a gouty sexagenarian. But to recount the causes which led to this powerful intervention we must for a moment retrace our steps.

* The Viscomte de Souillac, at that time Governor of the Isle of France, has thus recorded his opinion of d'Orves, in a memoir in the Archives of the French Navy: "By this astonishing obstinacy of M. d'Orves, which I reported to the ministry at the time, we lost an opportunity such as will never recur, of becoming absolute masters of the Coromandel coast. This army of Kadalúr (Sir Eyre Coote's) 14,000 strong, of which 3 to 4,000 were English, comprised all the troops the English had in this part of India. Madras could not have held out, and the junction of

our forces with those of Haidar Ali would have enabled us to conquer Tanjore and Masulipatam with all their dependencies."

An English writer, the author of *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, published in 1788, and who himself took part in the campaign, writes as follows:—"Had the French admiral left only two frigates to block up the road of Cuddalore, consequences might have happened as fatal to the interests of Great Britain in the East Indies, as flowed in North America from the convention of Saratoga."

II.

Still unconscious of the fact that the War of Independence in America offered them the rarest opportunity for striking a decisive blow at the English power in India, the French Government were nevertheless alive to the necessity of preserving from attack the Cape of Good Hope, then belonging to their allies, the Dutch, and of maintaining a respectable force in the Indian Seas. Early, then, in 1781, a squadron of five men-of-war* was fitted out, and on the 22nd March sailed from Brest, under the command of the Commandant de Suffren.

This illustrious sailor was born at St. Cannat in Provence on the 13th July 1726, the third son of the Marquis de Suffren de Saint Tropez. Destined for the navy he entered that service in 1743, and in the *Solide*, of 74 guns, joined the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He took part in an engagement with the English fleet under Admiral Matthews. Transferred to the frigate *Pauline*, he again had several opportunities of displaying his courage. The same year, serving on board the *Monarque* he was taken prisoner. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was released, and proceeding to Malta became one of the Knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. During the Seven Years' War he took part in the siege and capture of Port Mahon (29th July 1756) and was for the second time made prisoner at the combat of Lagos, (1759). Returning to France after a captivity of two years, he he was promoted to the command of the *Caméléon* of twenty guns, and sent to the Mediterranean to protect the French commerce. Subsequently, in the *Singe*, he so distinguished himself as to be promoted to the grade of commander (*capitaine de frégate*). The seven years which followed offered little occupation to his warlike nature. In 1772 he was promoted to the rank of post captain (*capitaine de vaisseau*); and in 1778, in command of *Le Fantasque*, he joined the squadron under Count d'Estaing, sent to aid the colonists of America. In the campaign which followed he so distinguished himself that he was granted a pension, and marked for future command. A short cruise with two men-of-war in 1780 added to his reputation alike as a daring and skilful sailor and an unsurpassed manager of men. When, therefore, it was decided to send a squadron to the Indian seas, the choice of the minister fell naturally upon one who had shewn himself the most promising captain in the royal navy of France.

* They were :—

Le Héros	...	74 Guns.	Commandant de Suffren.
L' Annibal	...	74	Capitaine de Trémigon.
L' Artésien	...	64	de Cardailhac.
Le Vengeur	...	64	de Forbin.
Le Sphinx	...	64	du Chilleau.

Such had been the services of the man who was now starting with a squadron of five line of battle ships to maintain the honour of his country in the Eastern seas. Setting sail on the 22nd March in company with the fleet destined for the American waters under the Count de Grasse, Suffren separated from that admiral at Madeira, and continued his course towards the Cape of Good Hope. He had under his charge seven transports conveying detachments of the regiment of Pondichery, and overlooking these was a corvette of sixteen guns, *La Fortune*. He had it very much at heart to reach the Cape as quickly as possible, so as to anticipate the arrival there of Commodore Johnstone, who, he had been informed, had sailed for that place from St. Helena with thirty-seven ships of sorts.*

Commodore Johnstone had sailed from Spithead on the 13th March 1781, with orders to attack the Dutch possessions at the Cape. Arriving at St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verde islands, he deemed it necessary to stop there in order to take in wood, water, and livestock for his voyage. He accordingly put into Porto Praya early in April.

It so happened that one of Suffren's men-of-war, the *Artésien*, had been originally destined for the fleet sailing to the American waters, and her supplies of water had been regulated accordingly. As the French squadron approached the island of St. Iago, the commander of that vessel, M. de Cardailhac, suggested to his chief the advisability of his putting in to the bay of La Praya, in order to complete his supplies. Suffren assented, and ordered Cardailhac to stand in. At the same time, in order to guard against any possible danger, he followed in his track with the rest of the squadron.†

On the morning of the 16th April, favoured by a breeze from the north-east, the *Artésien* had just passed between the islands of Maio and St. Iago, when her captain discovered at anchor at the entrance of the roadstead an English vessel, and almost immediately afterwards there burst upon his view the thirty-seven ships of war and transports which Commodore Johnstone had brought from England. Cardailhac at once signalled to his commandant that enemies were in sight.

* The squadron consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 64, three of 50, and three frigates. The remainder were armed transports.

The names were the *Hero*, 74; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, *Jupiter*, and *Romney* of 50 each. The three frigates carried each 32 guns, and the transports had 112 guns amongst them.—*Campbell's Naval History*.

† Campbell (Naval History) states that the French had received "by some means or other" information that Johnstone had put into Porto Praya; but his statement is quite unsupported. The same reason which had prompted Johnstone himself to put in, and that reason alone, guided the movements of Suffren.

It was a great opportunity for Suffren. He doubted not that the English were quite unprepared to receive him; that they were dreaming of nothing less than an attack; that the crews would probably be dispersed in search of water and provisions. And this was actually the fact. Of the crews of the English vessels nearly fifteen hundred were out foraging; and Commodore Johnstone himself so little expected an attack that he was at the moment engaged in giving directions for altering the position of some of his ships which had drifted too near to each other.*

Suffren did not forego his chance. Despatching *la Fortune* to collect and guard the transports, he, at half past 10 in the morning, led the way in the *Héros*, and standing in close to the shore, followed by the other ships of his squadron, he made for the largest English vessel, also called the *Hero*, and cast anchor between her and the *Monmouth*.

The concentrated fire of the English squadron was for a few moments directed on the daring invader; but very quickly the *Annibal* came to her aid, and diverted to herself much of the enemy's attention.

The *Artésien*, which was following, was not fortunate. The smoke of the combat caused her captain, Cardailhac, to mistake one of the armed transports for a man-of-war. He was about to board her, when he was shot dead through the heart. La Boixière who replaced him was incompetent. He, too, mistook another transport for a frigate. Whilst engaged in boarding her, the freshening breeze took both his vessel and his prize quite out of the line of fire.

The *Vengeur*, which had followed, went along the line of the enemy, exchanging broadsides, but her captain's order to anchor not having been attended to, she made the tour of the roadstead, and then quitting it, found herself unable to return.

The *Sphinx* owing to the mistake or disobedience of her captain did not anchor. She endeavoured to maintain her position by manœuvring, keeping up at the same time a heavy fire; but she rendered little effectual aid.

Suffren found himself then with two anchored, and one unanchored, and therefore comparatively useless vessel, engaged with the whole English squadron. The odds were tremendous, but he still possessed the advantage always given by a surprise, and he continued, for an hour and a half, to maintain the unequal combat. At last, when the *Annibal* had lost her main and mizen masts, and her captain had been disabled; when the *Héros* had received considerable damage in her rigging, and had lost 88 men killed and wounded; and when all hope of effectual aid from the other three vessels of his squadron had

* Campbell.

disappeared ; he deemed it advisable to discontinue the contest. Signalling therefore to the the *Annibal* to follow him, he slowly sailed out of the roadstead, still keeping up a tremendous fire.

The *Annibal* essayed to follow him ; but, as she passed between the *Hero* and the *Monmouth*, her remaining mast fell by the board. Fortunately the wind had shifted and was now blowing strongly from the south-west. She managed thus to rejoin, though slowly, her consorts outside.

It was about half past 12 o'clock in the day when Suffren reunited his squadron outside the harbour and began to repair damages. Three hours later Commodore Johnstone followed him and appeared inclined to attack in his turn. Suffren, however, placing the *Annibal* in the centre of his line, offered so bold a front, that the English commodore, whose ships, especially the *Isis*, had suffered severely, drew off and returned to La Praya.* Suffren then continued his voyage without molestation, and on the 21st June, cast anchor in Table Bay. The convoy arrived nine days later.

Having landed his troops at the Cape ; having secured the colony against attack ; having completely repaired his damages, and having been joined by two corvettes, the *Consolante* and the *Fine*, Suffren sailed for the islands of France and Bourbon on the 28th August. He cast anchor in Port Louis on the 25th October following. He found there six men-of-war, three frigates, and some corvettes. But at their head was the indolent and incapable d'Orves, the same who, we have seen, had already thrown away the most splendid chance of establishing a French India ! It was under this man that Suffren was to serve as second in command !

Meanwhile the French Government had tardily decided to make in 1782 an attempt which could scarcely have failed if hazarded in 1780. It had resolved to strike another blow, this time in concert with Haidar Ali, for domination in Southern

* Dr. Campbell states that Johnstone "pursued the French, but he was not able to overtake them." The French authorities, on the other hand, assert that their fleet put on so bold a front that Johnstone stayed his advance, although he was within two cannonshot of their fleet. "It was only at night" says Roux, "that the French continued their route, lighting their fires to provoke the enemy to follow them. The English, who had the advantage of the wind, dared not accept the challenge, but returned precipitately to La Praya." It is clear, considering the disabled state of the *Annibal*, and that the English

commodore had the advantage of the wind, that he could have forced an action had he desired to do so.

On his return to the roadstead, Commodore Johnstone recaptured the transport taken by *l'Artésien*.

Much has been said by English writers regarding the fact that the Cape de Verde Islands were neutral ground. It is perfectly true, but in this respect the French only did as they had been done by. The harbour of Lagos, in which the vessel on board of which Suffren served in 1759, had taken refuge, was equally neutral ground, and yet the French had been attacked in it by the English.

India. With this object in view it had roused from his retreat the Marquis de Bussy, the man who in his youth and middle age had gained honour and glory and wealth in that fairy land, but who now gouty, worn out, and querulous, was incapable alike of decision and enterprise.*

The designs of the Court of Versailles had been communicated early in the year to M. de Souillac, Governor of the Islands, and it had been intimated that transports containing troops would gradually arrive at his Governorship, and that, concentrating there, they would proceed to India, escorted by a powerful fleet under the command of Count d'Orves. De Souillac, who was enterprising and patriotic, had at once set to work to organise a force with the resources at his command from among the colonists; and at the period of the arrival of Suffren, he had drilled and armed a corps of 2,868 men. Bussy had not then arrived. De Souillac therefore conferred the command of this force upon M. Duchemin.

It was an unfortunate choice. Duchemin was a sailor rather than a soldier. But he was strong neither on the sea nor on the land. He was as weak mentally as physically. A terrible fear of responsibility acted upon a constitution unable to bear the smallest fatigue. A man of moderate abilities would have sufficed for the occasion. The abilities of Duchemin were not even moderate.

These 2,868 men, well commanded, and escorted to a given point by Suffren, would have sufficed to give the preponderance to Haidar Ali in his struggle with the English. But moments were precious. The war with the American colonists still indeed continued, but many things presaged that its duration would not be long. It was necessary, then, that the French should strike at once, and should strike with vigour and precision.

Of this necessity no one was more convinced than the Governor of the islands, de Souillac. He hastened his preparations, so that on the 7th December 1781, the French fleet, consisting of eleven men-of-war, three frigates, three corvettes, one fireship, and nine transports containing troops, was able to set out for its destination.

What was its destination? Suffren, with a precision natural to him, had advised that it should sail direct for Madras, and attempt to take that town by a *coup-de-main*. But the cautious and feeble d'Orves had overruled him. He would only proceed by degrees. He would feel his way. It was too much for him even to take a straight look at India. He therefore directed the fleet upon Trincomali.

But Providence had one good turn in store for the French.

* Bussy was then only 64 years old; had quite impaired his faculties. but twenty years of sloth and luxury

Happily for the success of the expedition d'Orves died on the way, (9th February 1782). He made over the command to Suffren who had just received the rank of commodore (*chef d'escadre*). Suffren at once altered the course to Madras.

Before this event had happened, Suffren himself in his ship, the *Héros*, had pursued and captured an English man-of-war of fifty guns, called the *Hannibal*. She was at once added to the French fleet under the title of *Le petit Annibal*. From the officers of this vessel Suffren learned, for the first time, that large reinforcements were on their way to the English squadron in the East.

Passing Pondichery, Suffren despatched to that town, in a corvette, Lieutenant-Colonel Canaple, with instructions to communicate at once to Haidar Ali the intelligence of his arrival and his hopes. On the 15th February, just three days before Colonel Braithwaite's detachment had succumbed to Tippú Sáhib, his fleet came in sight of Madras.* Anchored in front of Fort St. George and protected by its guns he descried eleven† ships of war,—the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes. Suffren formed his ships in line of battle till he arrived within two cannonshots of the English fleet. He then anchored and summoned all his captains on board the *Héros* to a council of war.

It must always be remembered that the fleet of M. de Suffren was escorting transports conveying a *corps d'armée*, and that it was a main object with him to land his troops, and disembarass himself of his transports before attempting an equal combat with the enemy. The proposal then of the captain of the *Fine*, M. Perrier de Salvart, to attack Sir Edward Hughes, lying as he was under the cover of the guns of Madras, appeared to him too hazardous. He determined therefore to direct the transports on towards Porto Novo, covering their course with his fleet.

In pursuance of this decision the fleet commenced its southward course that same evening. But as the breeze freshened Suffren observed the English vessels hoist their sails and follow him. Rightly conceiving that their object was to cut off his transports, Suffren gave the order that these should range themselves between the shore and his fleet, covered by the corvette the *Pourvoyeuse*, and make all sail for Porto Novo, whilst the *Fine* should watch the enemy's movements.

In spite of these precautions, however, Sir Edward Hughes, favoured by the darkness of the night, glided unperceived between

* The currents and a southerly breeze had taken his squadron considerably to the north of Madras. Coming again under the influence of the N.-E. Monsoon he approached

Madras from the north.

† Dr. Campbell mentions only nine. The other two were probably frigates.

the French squadron and the transports. These latter crowded sail to escape, and when day broke, they and their pursuers had sailed almost out of sight of Suffren's squadron: suddenly, however, the look-out man on board the *Fine* signalled the enemy to the south. Immediately every sail was set, and the *Héros* followed by the rest of the squadron soon approached the pursuers and pursued. Sir Edward, thus baulked of this prey,* hove to, and ordered the chase to be discontinued.

In the battle now about to engage, the French had the advantage of two ships, having eleven against nine of the English. Yet this advantage, great as it was, was balanced, partly by the superior organisation of the English, partly also by the jealousy and dislike entertained towards Suffren by the officers of the ships which had joined him at the islands. The jealousy, so often evinced in the time of Dupleix, which could not subordinate personal feelings to duty, manifested itself in the manner now to be described in the course of the action.

The French fleet was formed into two divisions; the first was composed as follows:—

<i>Le Héros</i>	74	guns, carrying the Commodore's broad pennant.
<i>L' Orient</i>	74	„ one of the ships brought from Port Louis.
<i>Le Sphinx</i>	64	„ brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	64	„ ditto ditto.
<i>Le petit Annibal</i>	50	„ captured from the English.

The second division, commanded by the captain of the *Annibal*, de Tromelin, consisted of:

<i>L' Annibal</i>	74	guns, brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Sévère</i>	64	„ „ from Port Louis.
<i>L' Artésien</i>	64	„ „ by Suffren from Brest.
<i>L' Ajax</i>	64	„ „ from Port Louis.
<i>Le Brillant</i>	64	„ „ ditto.
<i>Le Flamand</i>	54	„ „ ditto.

The armament amounted to 710 guns.

The English fleet was thus composed:—

<i>The Superb</i>	74	guns, Flagship.	<i>The Monmouth</i>	64	guns.
<i>The Hero</i>	74	„	<i>The Worcester</i>	64	„
<i>The Monarch</i>	74	„	<i>The Barford</i>	64	„
<i>The Exeter</i>	64	„	<i>The Isis</i>	54	„
<i>The Eagle</i>	64	„	or a total armament of 596 guns.		

It was half-past three o'clock in the afternoon before the wind, which was light and variable, allowed Suffren to approach his enemy. Seeing even then that some of his captains did not take the post assigned to them, he signalled to them to

* Dr. Campbell says vaguely that the troops were disembarked subsequently at Porto Novo. he French accounts show that all

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take the place in the line which each could reach the most quickly.

Rapidly advancing then, he exchanged a broadside with the *Exeter*, but noticing the flag of the English admiral, he directed the *Héros* towards the vessel that bore it, at the same time signalling to the second division to close within pistol-shot of the enemy.

The combat lasted from half past 3 to 7 o'clock in the evening. But it was not till quite the close of the action that all the French ships came into the line of fire. The entire first division consisting of five ships was engaged throughout; but of the second the *Flamand* and the *Brillant* alone came to close quarters, the remaining four, disobeying the direct orders of the commodore, keeping up only a distant fire.

On the part of the English the brunt of the attack was borne by the *Exeter* and the *Superb*. The former, fought splendidly by Captain King, was terribly riddled. Her loss in killed and wounded was very great. The *Superb*, too, suffered severely.

At 7 o'clock the combat ceased as if by mutual consent. Darkness had come on, and Suffren was too ill-satisfied with the conduct of five of his captains to allow him to risk a continuance of the contest. Sir Edward Hughes on his side was well content that it should cease. He was expecting reinforcements from England and by bearing down to the south he was likely to meet these. An opportunity would then offer to renew the battle on more advantageous terms. Taking advantage then of the quiescent attitude of the enemy he made all sail to the south.

It is probable that on this occasion, for the first and only time in his life, Suffren missed a great opportunity. He had, on the whole, had the advantage in the action. He had reduced one of the enemy's ships to an almost sinking condition,* and their losses had been heavier than his own. He knew that the English were expecting reinforcements. Why then did he not promptly pursue them? He did not do so because he could not trust all his captains.

The following morning Suffren summoned his captains on board the *Héros*. Those inculpated promised better conduct for the future. The squadron then quietly pursued its course to Porto Novo. Here he disembarked his troops, negotiated the terms of an alliance with Haidar Ali, and on the 23rd, having re-victualled his ships and been joined by one man-of-war and three frigates

* "At the close of the action when she (the *Exeter*) had been most dreadfully cut up, two fresh vessels of the enemy's squadron bore down upon her. The Master asked Commodore King what he should do with her

under the circumstances. His reply was "there is nothing to be done but to fight till she sinks." Just at this moment the two French ships were recalled. *Campbell.*

he sailed for the south, protecting some transports he was despatching to the islands, and hoping to meet again his English rival.

On the 8th April his wishes in this respect were fulfilled. With his twelve line of battle ships he sighted, on the morning of that day, the eleven ships composing the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes* standing for Trincomali. For three days they continued in sight, Suffren finding it impossible to force an action. But on the morning of the 12th, Hughes, changing his course to gain Trincomali, unavoidably gave the Frenchman the advantage of the wind. Of this advantage Suffren made prompt use.

The action began about half past 12 o'clock. Seven of the French ships were immediately engaged. But two, the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, notwithstanding the repeated signals of the commodore, kept at a distance, and their example was for some time followed by the *Sévère*, the *Ajax* and the *Annibal*. At last these three came up, and the action became general.

In the early part of the day fortune seemed to incline to the French. The *Monmouth* was dismasted and compelled to quit the line, having had 45 men killed and 102 wounded. The *Superb* was greatly damaged. The English admiral then gave orders to the squadron to wear. By this manœuvre the position of the rival fleets was reversed. Still, however, the battle continued; when suddenly at 6 o'clock a tremendous storm burst upon both fleets, enveloping them in darkness, and forcing them close to a lee shore, to pay attention to their own safety. Suffren at once signalled to anchor.

In this battle the English lost 137 killed and 430 wounded; the French 130 killed and 364 wounded. The *Héros*, the *Orient* and the *Brillant* had suffered severely. Nevertheless the next morning Suffren offered battle to Sir Edward, but the English admiral, having a large convoy under his charge, declined it. Suffren then sailed southward, whilst the English squadron entered the harbour of Trincomali. As to the captains of the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, Captains de Forbin and de Maurville, Suffren reported their conduct to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently, it will be seen, he deprived them of their commands and sent them to France, where, on arrival, they were imprisoned.

A little more than a fortnight after this battle, Suffren brought his squadron into the anchorage of Batacoloa, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the south of Trincomali, to which place the English squadron had repaired. By taking up this position Suffren gained all the advantage of the wind which was just beginning to set in from the south. He had previously

* The French ships carried 972 guns; those of the English 737.

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despatched a brig, the *Chasseur*, to the islands to demand of M. de Souillac men and munitions of war, of which latter there did not remain to him a sufficient quantity for a single action.

Here, at Batacoloa, Suffren received despatches from France directing him to proceed to the islands to escort Bussy to the Indian coast.* But there were grave reasons which urged Suffren to defer obedience to these instructions. In the first place he could not place confidence in many of his captains. The senior next to himself, Captain de Tromelin, was a man whom he had reason specially to mistrust. To leave to such a man the charge of a squadron wanting in men and ammunition, at a time when an English squadron of almost equal force was ready to dispute with it the mastery of the Indian Seas, and when nearly 3,000 French troops, but just landed, required the support of French ships, was a course which prudence and patriotism alike spurned. Suffren preferred then to take upon himself the responsibility of not obeying the minister's order. He justified this line of action in a letter to the Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.

Fortunately for France the Governor of the islands was a man endowed with a cool judgment, a clear understanding, and large and comprehensive views. He in his turn justified the action of Suffren to the Minister of Marine. After detailing the various reasons which would render the absence of Suffren from the scene of action not only inexpedient but dangerous to French interests, he thus concluded: "It may truly be affirmed that the course M. de Suffren has taken will save India and pave the way for the success of the Marquis de Bussy."

The French fleet remained in the anchorage of Batacoloa till the 1st June. It was a trying time for Suffren. His greatest enemies were the recalcitrant captains who were sighing for the luxurious diet, the graceful forms, and the smiling faces of the Isle of France. These offered a covert resistance to all the plans of their Commodore. But Suffren saw through their motives, and, being a plain speaker, he told them bluntly that he would rather sink the squadron before the forts of Madras than retire before Admiral Hughes. "If there are any," he added, "who have formed the conception of such an infamy let them give me their reasons and I shall know how to answer them." It was in putting down the intrigues formed by these men, in repairing and re-victualling his ships, in tending on the shore the sick and wounded, and finally in welcoming reinforcements of men and munitions, that the six weeks at Batacoloa were spent.

* These despatches were brought to Suffren by Villaret-Joyeuse, subsequently distinguished as the admiral

who, with a revolutionary fleet, fought the battle of the 1st June against Lord Howe.

Meanwhile the troops under the feeble Duchemin, disembarked at Porto Novo on the 20th April, had begun their operations. It had been arranged between the French Commodore and Haidar Ali that 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry of the Mysore army should join the French force, and that these united should, under the command of the French general, act in concert with Haidar Ali, the latter furnishing supplies both in money and kind. These arrangements were quickly carried out. Haidar had wished that the French *corps d'armée* should at once attack Negapatam, a most important town on the coast, and the capture of which could then have been easily effected. Duchemin, however, preferred the easier conquest of Kadalúr. This place surrendered on the 6th May. A junction was then effected with Haidar Ali, and the united armies besieged and took Permacól, and a few days later invested Wandewash.

Then occurred another instance of the crime of intrusting important military operations to a man without brains and without nerve. Probably in private life Duchemin was amiable and inoffensive. He was certainly not tormented by a constant desire to dare. These somewhat negative qualities ought to have engendered a doubt as to the possession of the sterner faculties which fit a man for command. It has indeed been conjectured that he might have owed his selection to there not being a better man on the spot. Yet, judging by results, such a surmise must be a libel on all and every one of the 2,868 men he led to India.

Just imagine his position. The English had but one army in Southern India. That army consisted of about 12,000 men, of whom little more than 2,000 were Europeans. It was commanded by Sir Eyre Coote, a man who had been very good in his day, but who was then utterly broken down in health. That army defeated, Southern India would become Mysorean and French.

On the other side was the army of Haidar Ali, 60,000 strong, flushed with victory over Braithwaite, and but just joined by about 2,000* Frenchmen under Duchemin. For this army a defeat was comparatively unimportant; for the English had not the men to follow up the victory, and Haidar had another army to fall back upon. It was just the occasion when it was the policy of the English to avoid a decisive action, of the allies to force one on.

Yet, it is scarcely credible that, whilst the English general so far played into his enemy's hands as to offer battle to them, the French commander declined it. If success justifies the neglect of all rule, then, and then alone, was Coote warranted in offering battle. Defeat would have ruined him. Yet his part, at least, was a noble and a daring part. But what can justify Duchemin?

* Deducting the sick in hospital.

Look again at the position. Haidar Ali and Duchemin with an army of over 60,000 men were besieging Wandewash: Sir Eyre Coote thought that Wandewash must be saved at any price. He therefore advanced with his army, 12,000 strong, and offered battle to the allies. His position was of no great strength. He had no advantages. He was over-matched in cavalry, in infantry, and in artillery. Haidar, old as he was, was eager to accept the challenge. Duchemin refused.

Why did he refuse? The fate of French India was in his hands. He had but to tell his countrymen to fight, as Frenchmen will fight, and, in all probability, Wandewash would have been the grave of the English. Why then did he refuse? It was an opportunity at which Suffren would have clutched, which the least of the generals of Napoleon would have made decisive. Unhappily for France, Duchemin was less than the least of her warrior children.

In reply to the urgent requisition of Haidar, Duchemin pleaded his health; he pleaded his instructions not to fight before the arrival of Bussy; he pleaded, not in words, but in a manner not to be misunderstood, his own innate incapacity.

Haidar Ali saw it—saw it with disdain. In compliance with the urgent solicitations of the Frenchman, he abstained from attacking Coote; and raising the siege of Wandewash retreated towards Pondichery and occupied a strongly fortified position close to Kalinúr. But the loss of the opportunity chafed him. Such allies were useless to him. He determined to show them he could fight the English without them.

The occasion soon presented itself. Sir Eyre Coote, foiled in his endeavours to force on a battle before Wandewash, determined to make an attempt on the magazines of Haidar at Arni. There were all his stores; there his supplies of ammunition and weapons of war. To surprise that place would in very deed give a deadly wound to his enemy. Coote resolved to attempt it. His chances seemed good, for he had gained over the commandant of Arni.

Coote set his army in motion for that purpose on the night of the 30th May. But Haidar had had good information and had penetrated his plan. Whilst then he sent by forced marches Tippú and his own French contingent under the younger Lally to protect Arni, he broke up from his camping ground at Kalinúr, and marched on the track of Coote, hoping to take him in rear. He did not even ask the opinion of Duchemin, but left him and his *corps d'armée* behind.*

* To mark his sense of Duchemin's of provisions to the French army conduct Haidar suspended the supply during his own absence.

Haidar Ali overtook the English force on the 2nd June just as they were in sight of Arni. The English leader was surprised. He had Tippú and Lally in front of him, and Haidar Ali in his rear. His troops were tired. Haidar had never had such a chance. But the skill of Coote and the valour of the English baffled him. By dexterous manœuvring Coote made it a day of skirmishing, in the course of which he captured one of Lally's guns stuck fast in the bed of the river. In his main object, however, Coote was baffled. Haidar saved Arni. Four days later Haidar took his revenge for the loss of his gun by tempting the English into an ambuscade. They fell into the snare, and lost 166 men, 54 horses, and two guns. Haidar's loss was about 60 men. After this action Sir Eyre Coote returned to the vicinity of Madras. Haidar, unable to conquer the repugnance of Duchemin to action, proceeded to push on the siege of Vellore.

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It was whilst the events just recorded were progressing on land that intelligence from time to time reached Haidar Ali of the gallant contests which Suffren had been delivering on the sea. The enthusiasm of the tried and gallant old warrior knew no bounds. "At last," he said to his confidants, "at last the English have found a master. This is the man who will aid me to exterminate them: I am determined that two years hence not one of them shall remain in India, and that they shall not possess a single inch of Indian soil." Then turning to the French agent in his camp, M. Piveron de Morlat, he begged him to write at once to his master, and to tell him of his own great desire to see him, to embrace him, to tell him how much he esteemed him for his heroic courage.

Before this message could reach the French commodore, he had sailed with his refitted and augmented squadron in the direction of Kadalúr. It had been his original intention to do the work which Duchemin had declined to attempt, viz., to take possession of Negapatam, which would have formed an important depôt for the operations of the land and sea forces. But the course of events induced him to change his determination.

The French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four large frigates, sailed first to Tranquebar, and then, making several captures *en route*, arrived, on the 20th June, at Kadalúr. Here for the first time Suffren became acquainted with the misconduct of Duchemin. Resolved, by some daring measure, to atone for the shortcomings of this incapable soldier, Suffren embarked on board his transports, besides siege materials, 1,200 men of the

line, 400 of the levies of the islands, two companies of artillery, and 800 sepoy, intending to make a dash at Negapatam. He was on the point of sailing when intelligence reached him that the English fleet, emerging from Trincomali, had passed Kadalúr, and was bearing up northward, in the direction of the place which he had hoped to surprise.

Disappointed, but still determined, Suffren at once set sail in pursuit of the enemy. Coming in sight, on the 5th July, of Negapatam, he beheld the English fleet lying at anchor in the roadstead. Determined at all hazards to force on an action, Suffren signalled to clear decks and to be ready to anchor. His own ship the *Héros*, was leading, when at 3 o'clock, a sudden squall caused to the *Ajax*, which was following, the loss of her main and mizen topmasts. These, and other damages, almost as serious, forced her to drop out of the line. The squall settling into a steady breeze gave the English admiral the advantage of the wind. He accordingly weighed anchor and stood out to sea. That night the two fleets anchored within two cannonshots of each other.

When the morning of the 6th July broke, the first care of the French commodore was to ascertain the condition of the *Ajax*. His rage may be imagined when he found that the necessary repairs remained uncompleted. The rage was increased to fury when he received from her captain a request that his vessel might be allowed to stand in for the nearest roadstead, and this in the presence of an enemy and when an engagement was impending! He refused absolutely.

Meanwhile the English admiral finding the enemy of about equal strength with himself, * determined to use his advantage of the wind and to force on an engagement. At 10 minutes past 7, then, he formed line ahead, and signalled to his captains that each ship should bear down as directly as possible upon her opponent and endeavour to bring her to close action. Suffren on his side tacked, putting the head to the wind, in order to form a new line. As he did this, he had the mortification to see the captain of the *Ajax* stand right away from him.

It was not till about half past 9 o'clock that the English ships came within range of their enemy. Both fleets opened fire simultaneously at long distances. Soon, however, the fight closed. The *Flamand*, 50, drew on herself the fire, which she returned, of the *Hero*, 74, and the *Exeter*, 64; whilst the *Annibal*, 74, engaged in a murderous conflict with the *Isis* 56. Simultaneously the *Sévère*, 64, and the *Barford*, 74; the *Brillant*, 64, and the

* The French fleet consisted, besides the *Ajax* which took no part in the battle, of eleven ships of the line, carrying 706 guns, and of four

frigates. The English had eleven line of battle ships, carrying 746 guns, and one frigate,

Sultan, 74; the French commodore's ship, the *Héros*, 74, and the English admiral's ship, the *Superb*, 74; engaged in an almost hand to hand encounter.

Of the other vessels it may be noted that the *Sphinx*, 64, fought the *Monarca*, 74; but the position of this latter, on the star-board quarter of the *Superb*, rendered it impossible for her to deliver any but an oblique fire. The *Worcester*, the *Monmouth*, the *Eagle*, and the *Magnamine*, which followed in her wake, could only form a line at an angle of forty-five with the French line. It followed that the fire between these and the *Petit Annibal*, the *Artésien*, and the *Vengeur* was at a long distance, whilst the *Bizarre* and the *Orient*, notwithstanding the efforts of their captains, remained in forced inaction. The *Flamand* was the first French ship to feel the weight of her two powerful antagonists. She managed, however, to forge ahead and clear herself, and they were in too crippled a condition to follow her. The *Brillant* at the same time was suffering much from the well-directed fire of the *Sultan*, when Suffren, signalling to the *Sphinx* to replace him alongside the *Superb*, came to her rescue. The fight was then renewed with extraordinary vigour; when at 1 o'clock the wind suddenly changed, and threw both the combating parties into disorder.

This change of wind, according to the English writers, saved the French fleet from certain defeat. The French on their side, whilst admitting the shameful conduct of some of their captains, contend that the battle was still uncertain, and that they were combating with equal chances when the wind came to part them. The state of affairs after the change of wind had operated, as related by one of the English writers of the period, a decided partisan, shows, I think, that there could have been little to choose between the condition of the rivals. "After much manœuvring," he writes, "and the continuation of a partial engagement between such of the two fleets as came within reach of each other, the English admiral made the signal for the line of battle ahead, and was preparing, at half-past one o'clock, to renew the attack; but seeing at two, the enemy standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close body, while his were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he relinquished that design, and thought only of getting into such a condition as should prove decisive to the service next morning. Then, however, the French were observed under sail, on their way to Cuddalore, while our fleet was utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them."* If this does not imply that the English ships had been at least as much damaged as their

* *Transactions in India*. London: was obstinate, well fought, but in-1786. Campbell says: "The action decisive."

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enemies in the previous encounter there is no meaning in language.

The French statement corroborates substantially the account from which I have just quoted. "Sir Edward Hughes," it relates, "abandoning to us the field of battle, endeavoured to concentrate his ships between Negapatam and Naoúr, whilst Suffren, lying to, and seeing the English squadron disappear, gave orders to anchor off Karikál, two leagues to windward of it."

Suffren himself attributed the indecisive nature of the action to the conduct of his captains. He accordingly placed under arrest and sent to France the following three of their number, viz., M. de Maurville of the *Artésien*, for having on the 6th July aggravated the faults he had committed on the 17th February, the 12th April, and the 5th June; M. de Forbin, for having on this occasion rivalled his misconduct on the 12th April; and M. de Cillart for having unbecomingly hauled down his flag.* M. Bouvet, who had not brought the *Ajax* into action at all, was deprived of his command, whilst three other inferior officers were sternly reprimanded. Having rid himself of these worse than incapable captains, Suffren anchored in the roadstead of Kadalúr and devoted all his efforts to repair the damages his ships had sustained in the action.

Yet, whilst actively engaged in this prosaic work, his brain, never idle, had conceived one of the most daring projects which ever entered into the head of a naval commander. Long had he noticed with envy the possession by the English of the only harbour on the east coast of Ceylon, capable of containing a large fleet, at the same time that it was strong enough to defy any hostile attack. He lay before Kadalúr in an open roadstead, liable to the storms of the ocean and the attacks of a superior force of the enemy. In this open roadstead he had to carry out all his repairs. The English admiral, he knew well, was about to be joined by the *Sceptre* of 64 guns and the *San Carlos* of 44. Were he to be attacked by the force thus increased to a very decided superiority, how could he effectually resist? Considerations of this nature pointed to the advisability of securing a harbour at once large, commodious, and safe. These advantages were possessed by Trincomali. Suffren then resolved to capture Trincomali.

It was a bold, almost an audacious venture. After the combat

* This occurrence is thus stated by the French authorities: "In one of the isolated encounters *le Sévère* was sustaining a fierce combat with the *Sultan*. All at once, in spite of the proximity of *l'Annibal*, *le Sphinx*, and *l'Héros*, du Cillart ordered his men to haul down his flag. Fortunately his cowardice, which betrayed itself by unmistakable signs, remained without result. Two officers rushed to him, and apostrophising him severely, rehoisted the flag and continued the combat."—*Roux*.

of the 6th July the English admiral had kept the sea for nearly a fortnight to the windward of Negapatam. With his ships much battered and urgently needing repair it is not easy to imagine why Sir Edward Hughes wasted that precious fortnight in idle bravado. This at least is certain, that it gave Suffren the opportunity he was longing for.*

The state of his vessels and the necessity for procuring ammunition rendered it impossible for Sir Edward Hughes to keep the sea for more than a fortnight. He steered then for Madras and reached that place on the 20th July. He at once took the necessary measures for the repairs of his fleet. Here also he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*. Sir Edward Hughes thought, and he seemed to have reason for his opinion, that he had sufficient time before him. He knew to a great extent, though not to the fullest extent, the difficulties his rival had to encounter at Kadalúr. Had he known the whole truth, he would have felt still more confident, for, on the 30th July, ten days subsequently to his own arrival at Madras, the state of the French ships of war was so miserable, and the resources at the disposal of Suffren were so wanting, that action for the remainder of the year seemed for them impossible.

On that date Suffren thus wrote to the Governor of the Isle of France, M. de Souillac: "I assure you it is no easy matter to keep the sea on a coast, without money, without magazines, with a squadron in many respects badly furnished, and after having sustained three combats. * * I am at the end of my resources. Nevertheless we must fight to gain Ceylon; the enemy have the wind of us and we have so many slow sailers that there is little hope we shall gain that advantage. * * The squadron has 2,000 men in hospital of whom 600 are wounded."

Even before thus writing, Suffren had broken up his prizes and transports, and had demolished houses and other buildings in Kadalúr to provide himself with the means of repairing his damaged ships!

Whilst thus engaged in these important duties, intelligence reached Suffren (25th July) that the great sovereign of Mysore had arrived within a few miles of Kadalúr in the hope of seeing him and of concerting plans for the future. The French commodore at once despatched an officer of rank to congratulate Haidar Ali, and the next day he landed himself in state, to pay him a visit of ceremony.

* The only English writer who attempts to justify the English admiral's delay before Negapatam, the author of *Transactions in India*, says that the situation of the army *may* have rendered this inaction necessary. But there are no grounds for this supposition. The English army was then likewise in a state of complete inaction.

His reception was magnificent. Met on landing by the principal nobles of Mysore, escorted by Haidar Ali's own bodyguard of European cavalry, he was greeted on the threshold of the state tent by that prince himself. The appearance of Haidar Ali was a signal for a general presentation of arms on the part of the troops drawn up in battle array. The drums beat, the trumpets sounded, the attendants sang hymns recording the prowess of the French. Not a single mark of respect or of honour was omitted.

The interview lasted three hours. Towards the close of it Suffren suggested to Haidar that he should come down to the sea shore to look at the French fleet dressed out in his honour. But Haidar, who was suffering, and who did not care to undergo the exertion that would be necessary, replied that he "had left his camp for one object only, that of seeing so great a man, and that now that he had seen him there was nothing remaining that he cared to see."

The two following days were spent in giving and receiving presents, and in arranging as to the operations which should take place on the arrival of Bussy; just as they were engaged in discussing this question, intelligence was received of the arrival at Point de Galle of the advanced guard of Bussy's fleet under M. d'Aymar.

Bussy, in fact, had set out from Cadiz in December 1781 with two men-of-war, three transports, and a large convoy. His misfortunes set in early. The convoy was attacked, dispersed, and in part destroyed by English cruisers, so much so that only two ships laden with artillery joined him at the Cape.* He still, however, had the soldiers who had embarked on his three transports. Terrified, however, at a report that the English were about to attack the Cape with an army of 6,000 men, he left there 650 of his small detachment. Sailing then to the islands, the perusal of the despatches just arrived from Suffren seemed to give him new courage. In concert, then, with the Governor, M. de Souillac, he detached under M. d'Aymar, two men of war, the *St. Michel*, 64, and the *Illustre*, 74, one frigate, the *Consolante*, and nine store-ships, carrying 800 men and laden with supplies and ammunition, to proceed at once to join Suffren, and to announce that he himself would shortly follow with the bulk of his troops.

It was of the arrival of this squadron at Galle that Suffren received information at Kadalúr on the 28th July, whilst still discussing affairs with Haidar Ali.

He lost no time in delay. Some preparations were still necessary. But these were soon completed, and on the morning of the 1st August, the French fleet leaving the roadstead in which it had patched up its repairs, fired a parting salute

* Many subsequently made their way to the islands.

to the great warrior her commodore was never destined again to behold.

Suffren had two objects in view, the one avowed, the other concealed: the first to effect a junction with d'Aymar; the second to capture Trincomali: the first appeared certain; the second could only be accomplished by 'great daring.'

Passing Karikal, Naoúr, and Negapatam, the fleet arrived at Batacoloa, twenty leagues south of Trincomali, on the 9th August. Here it was joined by the *Bellona*, a frigate of 36 guns, just returning from an indecisive hand-to-hand encounter with the *Coventry*, 32. Her captain, M. de Pierrevert, a nephew of Suffren, had been killed in the action.

Suffren waited at Batacoloa till the 21st August, when he was joined by the *St. Michel* and the *Illustre*, escorting seven transports with troops and stores, and accompanied by the corvette *La Fortune*. Whilst lying at Batacoloa he had received despatches from France and the islands. Amongst those from the latter was one from Bussy in which that general pointed out how much to be regretted it was that the French possessed no harbour on the eastern coasts equal to Trincomali. It cannot be said that this letter decided Suffren, for his mind had been previously made up; but it is probable that this opinion of a man who had a great reputation on matters connected with India, greatly strengthened his determination to strike for Trincomali.

The reinforcements brought by d'Aymar did not remain long in Batacoloa. One day was spent in distributing to the several ships the munitions and stores of which they were in need. The next day, 22nd August, the entire fleet set sail, and the same evening cast anchor in front of Trincomali. Early on the morning of the 25th, Suffren, having well examined the fortifications, moved his fleet to the east of the forts protecting the town, with the intention to land there his troops, to the number of 2,400. This was effected without opposition the same evening. On the 26th batteries were constructed to play on the eastern face of the fort. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, fire was opened and continued until, on the evening of the last-named day, a breach had been effected in the fortifications. Early on the morning of the following day Suffren summoned the commandant to surrender. After a long debate, the commanding officer, Captain Macdowel, seeing that further resistance was useless, agreed to give up the place on the condition that he and his troops should be transported to Madras and be free to serve in the war. The French then entered into possession.

Trincomali capitulated on the 31st August. It was occupied by the French on the 1st September. On the 2nd the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes appeared in sight of the place.

IV,

We have seen that Sir Edward Hughes, after delaying for nearly a fortnight before Negapatam, at last took his fleet to Madras to refit. He arrived there on the 20th July, and there he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*.

The damages which many of his ships had sustained were considerable, and he was forced to make extraordinary exertions to repair them. It had occurred to him that the French commander might take advantage of the state of his vessels, and the gain of a fortnight's time, to make an attempt upon Trincomali. To guard as much as possible against such an attempt, he despatched the *Monmouth* and the *Sceptre* with supplies of men and ammunition to that place.* Thinking this sufficient, his anxiety on the subject ceased. It was soon roused, however, to a greater extent than ever.

I have mentioned that the French frigate *Bellona* fought an indecisive action with the *Coventry* off Batacoloa; but I did not then state that the combating vessels had approached sufficiently near to that place to enable the captain of the latter ship to see the whole French fleet at anchor. He at once crowded on sail to carry the news quickly to Madras. He reached Madras in the middle of August and gave the first intimation to Sir E. Hughes of the dangerous proximity to Trincomali of his enemy. Sir Edward used all the despatch possible to hasten his departure for Ceylon. At length he set out, but, delayed by contrary winds, he arrived before Trincomali only to see the French flag flying on all the forts, and the French fleet at anchor in the bay.

Suffren saw, not unmoved, the English fleet in the offing. It was not necessary for him to go out and fight it, for he had succeeded to the fullest extent of his expectations. He had taken Trincomali. There were not wanting officers in his fleet to urge upon him to run no further risk. The party which, ever since his departure from the islands, had constantly endeavoured to thwart his measures, had been weakened but not annihilated, by the deportation to France of de Cillart, de Maurville, and de Forbin. The head of this party was his second in command, M. de Tromelin captain of the ship *Annibal*. Supported by de St. Felix of the *Artésien*, by de la Landelle of the *Bizarre*, and others, de Tromelin urged upon the commodore the advisability of resting upon his laurels. "The issue of a combat," he said, "was uncertain, and might deprive them of all that they had gained." Such was their ostensible reason; but it cannot be doubted that it was used to cover alike their jealousy of their

* These ships were despatched by the Negapatam. It is probable that they did not go further.

chief, and their longing desire to return to the soft beauties of the Isle of France. As for de Tromelin, he had held back in every action, and it was a matter of surprise that he had not been deported with the others after the last engagement.

It is necessary to give this summary of the debates which preceded the action, because they exercised a momentous influence on the action itself.

Before giving a decisive answer to his peace-pleading captains, Suffren determined to ascertain the number of the enemy's vessels. He accordingly signalled to the frigate *Bellona* to reconnoitre. The *Bellona* in a very short space of time signalled back that there were twelve English ships. This decided Suffren. He had fourteen.* Turning to his advisers, he said, 'If the enemy had more ships than I have, I would abstain; if he had an equal number, I could scarcely refrain; but as he has fewer, there is no choice; we must go out and fight him.'

The fact is that Suffren saw, though his captains would not or could not see, that a grand opportunity, possibly the last, now offered to strike a decisive blow for dominion in Southern India. Could he but destroy, or effectually disable, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes, everything was still possible. Bussy was on the point of arriving; Haidar Ali still lived, threatening the English possessions all round Madras; the attenuated English army, deprived of its fleet, would be unable to keep the field; and there was nothing to prevent the victorious French fleet from sailing with the monsoon wind to Madras, and crushing out the domination of the English in the countries south of the river Krishna. There was the one obstacle offered by the twelve ships of Sir Edward Hughes; and Suffren had fourteen.

That Suffren entertained such hopes is beyond a doubt. Writing to a friend on the 14th, after the battle I am about to describe, and alluding to the excellent conduct of the captain of the *Illustre*, M. de Bruyères de Chalabre, he used this expression: "No one could have borne himself better than he did; if all had done like him, we should have been masters of India for ever."†

But let us now turn to the events of this memorable day. Decided by the signal from the *Bellona* to fight, Suffren, after

* The French fleet consisted of the *Sultan*, 74; the *Superb*, 74; the *Monarca*, 74; the *Exeter*, 64; the *Sceptre*, 64; the *Eagle*, 64; the *Magnanime*, 64; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, 56; the *Worcester*, 54; and five frigates and one corvette, carrying in all 976 guns.

† This letter was published in the *Gazette de France* of 31st March 1783.

a short exhortation to his captains, weighed anchor, and stood out towards the enemy who appeared inclined to entice him gently away from the harbour. As he approached, he signalled to form line in the pre-arranged order. This signal, though repeated again and again, was so badly executed by some of the malcontent captains, that it appeared to the English as if their enemy was about, after all, to decline an engagement. At length, however, their intentions became clear. Their line, though badly formed—the ships being at unequal distances from each other, here crowded, there separated by a long interval—approached till within cannon-shot.

Suffren, dissatisfied with the unequal formation his ships had taken up, signalled then to his captains to reserve their fire till they should be at close quarters with the enemy. He endeavoured to enforce this order by firing a gun. The signal was misunderstood to signify the immediate opening of fire. The fire accordingly opened simultaneously along the whole line of the fleet. The compliment was quickly returned, and in a few minutes the action became general.

Leaving for a moment the van and rear guards of both fleets, we will turn our attention to the centre, in which the rival commanders were opposed to each other. The French centre was composed of the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, the *Sphinx*, the *Flamand*, and the *Petit Annibal*. Of these five the *Sphinx* and the *Petit Annibal* had, by bad seamanship or ill-will on the part of their captains, mixed themselves with the vanguard, the *Flamand* had tacked herself on the rear guard, whilst, on the other hand, the *Ajax*, of the rear guard, had joined the centre. It was then with only three vessels, the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Ajax*, that Suffren came to close quarters with the English admiral.

Here he found ready to receive him, and arranged with that care for discipline and obedience to orders, which is one of the glories of the English services, the *Burford*, the *Superb*, the *Sultan*, the *Eagle*, the *Hero*, and the *Monarca*. For one hour the unequal combat lasted, fought with admirable courage on both sides; at the end of that period Suffren saw that the odds were too great, and that unless he received prompt assistance he must succumb. He signalled, therefore, to the *St. Michel* commanded by d'Aymar, and to the *Annibal* commanded by de Tromelin, to come to his aid. Neither obeyed. De Kersaison, however, brought up the *Brillant*, though not in a position to offer the most effectual assistance.

Whilst this murderous hand-to-hand conflict was going on in the centre, the two extremities continued pounding at each other at long distances. In this the French had somewhat the advantage. The *Exeter* was disabled, and forced to draw out of the

line; the *Isis* suffered severely, and her captain, Lumley, was killed; the *Worcester*, who lost her captain, Wood, and the *Monmouth*, were riddled. On the French side, the *Consolante*, a 40 gun frigate, which had been brought into action, lost her captain, Péan; the *Vengeur*, having fired away all her ammunition, retired from the action, and caught fire, with difficulty extinguished: the remainder of the squadron continued to fire without order, and at long distances, notwithstanding that the signal for close action was still flying on the commodore's ship.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the fight having lasted then one hour and a half, the situation of the French commodore had become extremely critical. The *Ajax* had been so riddled as to be able to retire only with the greatest difficulty. The *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Brillant* had to bear unsupported the weight of the concentrated fire of the centre division of the English fleet. At 4 o'clock the *Artésien* came to the commodore's rescue; but even then the odds were too great. About 5 o'clock the mainmast, the fore topmast, and the mizen topmast of the *Héros* came down with a tremendous crash. The hurrahs of the English first showed Suffren that they thought he had struck his flag. Not for long did they remain under this delusion. Rushing on the poop, Suffren cried with a voice which sounded above the roar of the combat: "Bring flags; bring up all the white flags that are below and cover my ship with them." These words inspired his men with renewed energy. The contest continued with greater fury than ever. The *Burford*, the *Sultan*, and the *Superb* had already felt, and now felt again its effects. Hope was beginning to rise, when at the moment it was whispered to Suffren that he had already expended 1,800 rounds of shot, and that his ammunition was exhausted!

Powder, however, remained, and with powder alone he continued the fire, so as to delude the enemy. But he had begun to despair: already he was thinking of spiking the guns, and, enticing the enemy's ships close to him, of blowing up his ship and her neighbours with her, when an event occurred which changed the fortunes of the day.

Suddenly, at half-past five, the wind shifted from the south-west to the east-south-east. This enabled the vanguard of the French fleet to come to the aid of, and to cover, its centre. At the same time the English fleet wore. But on resuming position it had no longer the hardly-pressed ships of the French centre to encounter, but those of the vanguard which till then had only engaged at a distance and were comparatively fresh.

The battle then re-engaged. But now it was the turn of the French. The *Hero* lost her mainmast at twenty minutes past six and her mizenmast soon after. The maintopmast of the *Worcester*

was shot away about the same time. The *Superb*, the *Barford*, the *Eagle*, and the *Monmouth* had previously been disabled.

At length night fell, and the engagement ceased—another drawn battle. Both fleets remained all night near the scene of action. The next morning that of the French entered the harbour of Trincomali, the English set sail for Madras. *

Such was the great sea fight off Trincomali. That the majority of the French captains behaved disgracefully was broadly asserted by Suffren, and was admitted by his adversaries. In the English accounts published in India at that period those captains were stigmatised as being 'unworthy to serve so great a man', whilst even in the *Calcutta Gazette* it was admitted that Suffren had been very badly seconded. There can scarcely be a doubt that he was right in saying as he did in the letter I have already referred to, that if all had fought like the captain of the *Illustre* he would have mastered Southern India. As it was, the battle was not without its effect on the campaign.

The Madras Government was so sensible of the damages sustained by the English fleet, and so cognizant of the enterprising spirit of the French commodore, that they ordered their army to fall back on Madras. Had there been at the head of the French land forces a man possessing but the atom of a brain, the dream of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren, might even then have been realised!

The consequences to some of the French captains were serious. On the 13th September de Tromelin of the *Annibal*, de St. Félix of the *Artésien*, and de la Landelle of the *Bizarre*, were shipped off to the Isle of France. They were accompanied by de Galles of the *Petit Annibal*, whose health rendered necessary the change.

The French fleet having repaired damages, and having lost one of its vessels (*l'Orient*), which struck on a rock the morning after the action, sailed from Trincomali on the 30th September, and arrived off Kadalúr on the 4th October. Here Suffren had the misfortune to lose the *Bizarre* which, taken too near the shore, ran aground. On the 15th, he set out with the remainder of his ships to winter at Achin. He arrived there on the 7th November.

It is time now to take a glance at the land operations.

* It is very difficult to reconcile the accounts given by the rival actors of the latter part of the action. The English writers assert that the French entered the harbour that very night. Vice-Admiral Bouët-Willaumez and the French authorities of the time assert that Suffren signalled to chase the English, but that they

got away; and that the French entered Trincomali the next morning. Truth would appear to be that both sides were thoroughly exhausted, and were glad to discontinue the battle; that both anchored that night near to where they had fought, and that the French entered the harbour early in the morning.

V.
We left the French auxiliary land force under Duchemin in the strongly fortified position of Kalinúr,—a position in which Haidar Ali had left them in disgust at the conduct of their commander, to go in person with his own troops alone to baffle the designs of Coote on Arni (2nd June 1782). We have seen how he accomplished that task. Shortly after the action which took place before that fortress, and the more trifling skirmishes that followed, the English army retired to the vicinity of Madras.

On his side Haidar Ali cantoned his main army on the high ground near the river Poní, sixteen miles north of Arcot, conducting thence the siege of Vellore. Thence also he despatched his son Tippú, with a considerable force, to counteract the manœuvres of the English on the western coast. The French auxiliary force under Duchemin remained intrenched near Kadalúr in a state of complete inactivity. Here on the 13th September Duchemin, who had been long ailing, died. He was succeeded by Count d'Offelize, the colonel of the regiment of Austrasia, a man respected for his judgment and good sense.

But it was soon seen that active hostilities had by no means ceased. Taking advantage of the absence of Haidar at Kadalúr, whither he had repaired for his interview with the French commodore, Sir Eyre Coote had succeeded by a sudden and rapid march, in introducing a six months' supply of stores and ammunition into the threatened fortress of Vellore. Haidar, who had too late received intelligence of his enemy's movement, hastened to attempt to defeat it, but arrived only in time to witness its successful execution. Haidar then returned to his camp on the river Poní. Coote, waiting until the excitement caused by his recent raid should have subsided, thought it might just be possible to steal a march upon the ruler of Mysore, and, pouncing upon Kadalúr, not only to seize that fortified depôt, but to destroy at a blow the French auxiliary force. He had every hope that in this attempt he would be supported by the frigate and transports containing stores and a battering train, which had been expedited from Madras for that purpose. He therefore attempted it.

Succeeding in eluding the vigilance of Haidar, Coote found himself, on the 6th September, on the red hills near Pondichery. He commanded thence a complete view of the sea. But to his disappointment not a sail was to be seen. There was but a march between him and the French encampment. Without a battering train, however, the chances of success were slight, and repulse would be fatal, for Haidar would not long delay to act on his communications. As it was, even, his position was full of peril. Still he maintained it for some days, straining his eyes towards the sea. Nor did he cease to hope, until an express

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from Madras informed him that Trincomali had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that the fleet, badly treated in an encounter before that place, was in full sail for Madras. He at once resigned hope and fell back on the presidency town.

Seldom, it may be safely affirmed, have English interests in Southern India been exposed to greater danger than they were on this occasion. Haidar was encamped in an impregnable position within easy distance of Madras; two thousand of the famed horsemen of Mysore encircled the capital endeavouring to cut off supplies; a large addition to the French land force was momentarily expected; the fleet, by the capture of Trincomali, had been deprived of the only possible place of refuge on the Coromandel coast during the N.-E. monsoon, then about to break: and, added to all, a famine, such as had not been known for years, was devastating the country.* It seemed that it required but one energetic push on the part of the enemy to make the whole edifice of British supremacy topple over.

The damages sustained by the English ships in the action off Trincomali rendered it dangerous for them to wait the first burst of the monsoon in the open roadstead of Madras. Sir Edward Hughes, therefore, immediately after his arrival, announced to the Governor, Lord Macartney, his intention to take his fleet round to Bombay as soon as he should be able to patch up the injured ships. In vain did the Governor remonstrate. Sir Edward Hughes was obdurate, and rightly obdurate. He knew well the force of the monsoon and his inability to brave it. He therefore adhered to his resolution.

His efforts to put his ships in order, to re-victual and re-equip them, were stimulated not less by the close proximity of the monsoon, than by a report which reached Madras that Suffren was about to make an attempt on Negapatam.† With all his efforts, however, Hughes could not sail before the 15th October; but on the 15th October he sailed.

The morning of the 15th had been threatening, showing every indications of a storm. The result did not belie the promise.

* A contemporary, the author of *Transactions in India*, writing three years after the event, thus describes the famine and its consequences: "At this moment a famine raged in Madras and every part of the Carnatic, and, by the tempest now described, all foreign resources that depended on an intercourse by sea were at an end * * *. The roads, the outlets and even the streets (of Madras) were everywhere choked up with heaps of dead and crowds of

the dying. Two hundred at least of the natives perished every day in the streets and the suburbs. * * * All was done which private charity could do; but it was a whole people in beggary; a nation which stretched out its hand for food. * * * For eighteen months did this destruction rage from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore."

† He had been seen off Negapatam on the 1st October.

The following morning the long line of coast off Madras was strewn with wrecks; many vessels foundered, some were driven on shore. Of the small craft containing the rice supplies which had been sent from the more northern ports and roadsteads, not a single one remained.

The ships of Sir Edward Hughes though they escaped absolute destruction met with little short of it. For a whole month no two ships of the fleet could speak with each other. The *Superb*, which carried the admiral's flag, had been at an early date reduced to such a condition that Sir Edward took the first opportunity to shift his flag to the *Sultan*. They were upwards of two months in making the voyage to Bombay. And when the admiral arrived there on the 20th December, he arrived with a shattered fleet and with sickly crews.*

Four days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes from Madras, Sir Robert Bickerton arrived there with five ships of war and a large number of transports having on board about 4,000 infantry and 340 cavalry. Having landed these he, too, sailed for Bombay.

Meanwhile Suffren had arrived at Achin (7th November). He stayed there till the 15th January, engaged in refitting his ships, in attending to his crews, and in sending cruisers into the Bay of Bengal, where they made some important captures.† Early in January he heard of the death of Haidar Ali (7th December). He determined therefore to return at once to the Coromandel coast to concert fresh measures with Tippú Sultán.

Suffren, sailing on the 15th January, arrived off Kadalúr early in February. He was surprised to find there neither tidings of Bussy, nor any news regarding two ships of his fleet, the *Annibal* and the *Bellona*, which he had sent to cruise in the Bay of Bengal. He stayed there but a few days; then, having detached two of his ships, the *St. Michel* and the *Coventry*, towards Madras to intercept an English convoy, he sailed for Trincomali, and arrived there on the 23rd February.

Here he was joined not only by his missing ships, but, on the 10th March, by the squadron which was escorting Bussy, consisting of three line of battle ships, one frigate and thirty-two transports.

* It is a curious circumstance connected with the law of storms, first that Suffren, who left Kadalúr the same day as that on which Sir E. Hughes left Madras, experienced only fine weather; he noticed the coming storm and avoided it; that Sir R. Bickerton reached Madras with five sail of the line on the

19th October without experiencing bad weather; that he left it, the very day he had landed his troops, for Bombay, and arrived there some weeks before Sir E. Hughes without experiencing any bad weather in transit.

† Amongst others the *Coventry*, a frigate carrying 32 guns.

The troops under the command of the Marquis de Bussy, consisting of about 2,300 men,* were escorted to the Coromandel coast and were landed safely at Porto Novo on the 19th March. I propose now to show the state in which the new commander found the affairs of the French and their ally.

The English having concluded peace with the Márhátás had, early in the year, made in communication with them so strong a demonstration on the western coast, that Tippú had been forced to start with the bulk of his army to defend his own dominions. But before this had happened General Stuart had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in command of the English forces at Madras. Reinforced, as we have seen, Stuart moved in February on to Karangúli and Wandewash, the fortifications of which places he destroyed. The Mysorean army under Tippú and the French auxiliaries under d'Offelize were occupying a position at the time within twelve miles of Wandewash, and an action between their army and the English seemed at one time imminent; but Tippú's preparations had not been completed when Stuart offered battle, and when Tippú's plans had matured Stuart had retired. It was immediately after this that Tippú started with the bulk of his army and one French regiment for Mysore, leaving 3,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry at the disposal of d'Offelize.

The English authorities still clung to the plan of wresting, by a combined attack by sea and land, the fortified depôt of Kadalúr from the French. Arrangements having been concerted with Sir Edward Hughes, Stuart set out from the vicinity of Madras on the 21st April, at the head of about 15,000† men. As he advanced towards Wandewash, d'Offelize, whose European force had been reduced to about 600 men, fell back in the direction of Kadalúr.

Bussy, we have seen, arrived at Kadalúr on the 19th March, in plenty of time, by an active initiative, to prevent the investiture of that place. But the Bussy who returned to India in 1773 was no longer the hardy warrior who had electrified Southern India in the years between 1754 and 1760; who had made of the Subadar of the Dekhan a French prefect, and whose capacity to dare had supplied the want of soldiers. If the Bussy of 1756, by his genius, his activity, his daring, his success, foreshadowed in some respects the illustrious warrior who, just forty years later, displayed the same qualities to conquer Italy, the Bussy of 1783, corrupted by wealth, enervated by luxury, and careful only of his

* They consisted of detachments from the regiment of de la Mark, from the regiment d'Aquitaine, from the Royal Roussillon, and of 300 artillery men.

† He set out with about 3,000 Europeans and 11,500 natives, but was joined almost immediately by 600 Europeans just landed.

ease, more resembled that scion of the house of Bourbon, once his sovereign, who consecrated all his hours to his mistresses, who left the nomination of the generals of the armies of France to a de Pompadour, and who banished a Choiseul on the requisition of a Du Barry!

Bussy, then, instead of acting with vigour, did nothing. He did not even show himself to his men. He kept himself—to borrow the language of one of his countrymen—"invisible in his tent like a rich Nabob." Instructed by Colonel d'Offelize of the advance of the English, and informed by that officer that he pledged himself to maintain his force at Permacól, if he were but supported, Bussy not only refused, but abandoned every outlying fortification and fell back within Kadalúr.

The fort of Kadalúr was a quadrangle of unequal sides, extremely weak in many respects, and possessing an indifferent flanking defence. From two to four miles from its western face inland were the hills of Bandapalam. A little estuary formed by the sea covered the eastern and southern faces. It was defended by the whole French force, reduced now by sickness and detachments lent to Tippú to 2,300 Europeans, and by a Mysorean force of 3,000 infantry and 7,000 horse.

The English army arrived before Kadalúr on the 4th June. On the 7th, secure of the support of the fleet, which had arrived at Porto Novo, it made a circuit round the hill and took up a position two miles southward from the fort, its left resting on the hills, its right on the estuary. In making this circuit Stuart so exposed his left to the enemy, that the Major of the regiment of Austrasia, de Boisseaux, ventured to disturb the "French Nabob" in his tent, to point out the capital crime the English were committing. But Bussy, not with difficulty, restrained himself. He had arrived at a time of life when men no longer attack.

It was only when Stuart had definitely taken up his position to the south that Bussy formed up his force outside Kadalúr, in a line nearly parallel to the enemy, and began to cover it with intrenchments.

On the 13th General Stuart ordered an attack on the right of the French line under the command of Colonel Kelly. The attack, after gaining two positions, was, thanks to the skill and energy of Colonel d'Offelize, repulsed with great loss at the third. The success of the French seemed assured, but they pursued the retiring enemy too far, and General Stuart, noticing his opportunity, came up between them and their intrenchments, and gained a position which would enable him the next day to command the entire French line of defence. Upon this the fight ceased, and Bussy, who for the day had exchanged his tent for a palanquin, withdrew his troops during the night within Kadalúr.

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All this time the sea had been commanded by the English fleet. But on the evening of the day on which the French had had been driven within Kadalúr, a circumstance occurred which brings again upon the scene the illustrious French admiral* at the hour of the direst needs of his country.

We left Suffren on the 19th March landing the army of Bussy at Porto Novo. Coasting then southwards, he arrived on the 11th April, after a slow and difficult journey, within sight of Trincomali. In spite of the presence of the English off the coast he entered the harbour, and at once set to work to refit his fleet. Of his fifteen ships all but five were still under repair, when on the 24th May, the English fleet again passed Trincomali in full sail to the south. Imagining that this demonstration was but a feint to draw him towards Kadalúr so that Trincomali might be captured in his absence, Suffren contented himself with sending some transports escorted by frigates to Kadalúr, and continued his repairs. Again, on the 31st May, the English fleet appeared, bearing northwards, and this time it even made a demonstration to attack the harbour. But it was only a demonstration. At the end of two days Sir Edward Hughes went on to take up at Porto Novo a position which was to support the attack of the land army on Kadalúr. Two days later the French frigates and transports which had been sent to convey stores to Kadalúr returned to Trincomali. The senior captain of the expedition brought with him a letter from Bussy, written early in June, painting his needs and imploring assistance.

Suffren was not the man to turn a deaf ear to an exhortation of of that nature. It is true that he knew his fleet to be inferior in number, in condition, and in weight of metal to that of the enemy; † but he felt that the interests of France would be better served by his provoking an unequal contest, the issue of which might however be favourable, than, by allowing her last army to succumb without a blow.‡ He therefore did not hesitate for a moment. He did not even consult any one; but summoning on board the flag ship the captains of his fleet he informed them in a few spirit-stirring words that the army at Kadalúr was lost unless the fleet went to succour it; that the glory of saving it was reserved for them; and that whatever might be the result, they would at least attempt it.

These words were received by the assembled captains with the greatest enthusiasm. Instantly every hand lent itself to the

* Suffren had been promoted in March 1773 to the rank of *lieutenant-général*, a title corresponding to that of vice-admiral.

† The French fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war and one frigate carrying 1,008 guns; the English of

eighteen ships of war carrying 1,202 guns.

‡ The conduct of Suffren on this occasion, may well be contrasted with that of d'Aché in 1761. *Vide History of the French in India.*

work. The crews of all but three of the frigates were transferred to the line of battle ships to bring up the complement of these to working capacity. On the 11th June the fleet left Trincomali. On the evening of the 13th it came within sight of Kadalúr to gladden by its appearance the hearts of the soldiers who had been forced that day to retire within its fortifications.

Sir Edward Hughes was at Porto Novo. His light ships having signalled the French fleet, he at once stood in for Kadalúr, and anchored in front of it. The 14th and 15th the state of the wind rendered it impossible for Suffren to force on an action, and the English admiral, rightly regarding the capture of Kadalúr as the main object of the campaign, conceived that he best contributed to the accomplishment of that object by covering the besieged fort. On the 16th, however, the wind changed, and the French fleet bore down on its enemy. The English admiral at once weighed anchor and stood to sea, hoping that by standing out and catching the light breezes which he thought he detected in the open, he might bear down in his turn and take Suffren at disadvantage. But this did not happen, and Suffren, still bearing towards the coast, reaped the fruit of his happy audacity by occupying, without firing a shot, the place in front of Kadalúr which had just been vacated by his English rival!

It is impossible to speak in terms of too high commendation of this display of combined genius and daring. To beat on the open sea a fleet of equal or of greater numbers is no doubt a splendid achievement; but it is an achievement in which the lower nature of man, that which is termed brute force, has a considerable share. But to gain all the effect of a victory without fighting, to dislodge an enemy superior in numbers from a position of vital importance without firing a shot,—that indeed is an exercise of the highest faculties of man's higher nature, a feat of intellectual power not often bestowed, but generally combined, when given, with that strength of nerve which knows when and how to dare.*

* It is curious to note the manner in which this achievement is alluded to by English writers. Wilks, with his usual straightforwardness, writes thus: "On the 16th, he (Hughes) weighed anchor, with the expectation of bringing the enemy to close action, but such was the superior skill or fortune of M. Suffren that on the same night, at half-past 8, he anchored abreast of the fort, and the dawn of day presented to the English army before Cuddalore the mortifying spectacle of the French fleet in the exact position abandoned by their own on the previous day, the English

fleet being invisible and its situation unknown." The author of *Memoirs of the late war in Asia*, himself a combatant, speaks of the French fleet as "a crazy fleet consisting of 15 sail of ships, half of them in very bad condition." He merely mentions that "it occupied the place vacated by Sir E. Hughes' fleet consisting of 18 coppered ships (their crews greatly debilitated by sickness)." Campbell and the writer of the *Transactions* pass over the event in silence. Even Mill ignores it; but it is a well-attested fact.

The clocks of Kadalûr were striking half-past eight when Suffren anchored before the town. With the prescience of a true commander he had discovered that of the two enemies before him it was necessary to drive off the one before attacking the other. Were he to lend his sailors to join in an attack on General Stuart, he might at any moment be assailed at a disadvantage by Admiral Hughes. Instead therefore of disembarking his own men he embarked a thousand soldiers to strengthen his ships.

This embarkation took place on the 17th. On the 18th Suffren weighed anchor and stood out, but neither on that day nor on the day following could he succeed in bringing the enemy to action. On the 20th November Sir Edward Hughes, whose men were suffering from scurvy, and whose supplies of water were running short,* found it absolutely necessary to accept a contest or to bear up for Madras. He chose the former alternative.

In the contest which was about to commence Suffren was in number of ships, in their condition, and in weight of metal considerably inferior to the English.† On the other hand his ships were better manned. But that which gave him the greatest confidence was the quality of his captains. For the first time the ships of his fleet were commanded by men whom he could trust.

At $\frac{1}{4}$ -past 4 in the afternoon, the two fleets, having come within range, almost simultaneously opened fire. Immediately afterwards the *Flamand*, 50, attempting to pierce the enemy's line, was attacked on both sides by the *Exeter* and the *Inflexible*. Her captain, de Salvart, was killed, but the first lieutenant succeeded in rescuing her from her perilous position.

Whilst this was being attempted the *Héros* and *Illustre* engaged at once the *Superb*, the *Monarca* and the *Barford*; the *Argonaute* the *Sultan*; the *Petit Annibal* the *Africa*; the *Vengeur* the *Magnamine*; the *Hardi* at once the *Bristol* and

* He had lost, during little more than a month, nearly 3,000 men from the same cause. It is to this that the English writers attribute his unwillingness to accept an engagement.

† The English fleet consisted of the *Gibraltar*, 80, the *Defence*, 74, the *Hero*, 74, the *Sultan*, 74, the *Superb*, 74, the *Cumberland*, 74, the *Monarca*, 70, the *Barford*, 70, the *Inflexible*, 64, the *Exeter*, 64, the *Worcester*, 64, the *Africa*, 64, the *Sceptre*, 64, the *Magnamine*, 64, the *Eagle*, 64, the *Monmouth*, 64, the *Bristol*, 50, the *Isis*, 50.

The French fleet, of the *Fendant*, 74, the *Argonaute*, 74, the *Héros*,

74, the *Illustre*, 74, the *Annibal*, 74, the *Sphinx*, 64, the *Brillant*, 64, the *Ajam*, 64, the *Vengeur*, 64, the *Sévère*, 64, the *Hardi*, 64, the *Artésien*, 64, the *St. Michel*, 60, the *Flamand*, 50, the *Petit Annibal*, 50, and the *Consolante* frigate, 40, brought into the line. The French had also three frigates, the *Fine*, the *Cleopatre* and the *Coventry*. On board of one of these, in consequence of an express order of the king, provoked by the capture of Count de Grasse in his contest with Rodney, Suffren hoisted his flag during the action. The English had also two frigates, the *Active* and the *Medea*.

the *Monmouth*. In the rear division the *Fendant* encountered first the *Inflexible* and then the *Gibraltar*, whilst the *Sphinx* tackled the *Defence*. The other ships of both fleets were not less actively engaged.

At about half-past 5 the mizen topmast of the *Fendant* caught fire, and her commander was forced to take her for a moment out of the line. The *Gibraltar*, with whom she had been engaged, seized this opportunity to attempt to break the French line, but the *Flamand* covered her consort and kept the enemy at bay till the fire was extinguished, and the *Fendant* returned to her position.

The murderous contest was kept up on both sides until past seven o'clock, when darkness supervened and the firing ceased. Neither fleet had lost a ship, both had been severely handled; but the practical victory would be naturally to that which would be able to compel the other to retire from the vicinity of Kadalûr. That question was soon decided.

During the night the French fleet beat about endeavouring to remain close to Kadalûr, but the currents took it down to Pondichery. There, in the course of the following day, it anchored, but early on the morning of the 22nd, his light ships signalling the English fleet bearing N.-N.-E, Suffren immediately weighed anchor and stood out in pursuit. When, however, he reached Kadalûr the enemy was no longer in sight; Sir E. Hughes had borne up for Madras.*

Thus then had Suffren by combined skill and valour attained one of his objects. He had driven one enemy from the coast; he would now aid in forcing the other to retreat. That same evening, the 23rd June, he landed not only the thousand soldiers he had borrowed from the fort, but added to them 2,400 men from his sailors.

More he could not do. He could command and win battles on sea. He could send his men on shore, but on the land his own men, he himself even, came under the orders of Bussy. And we have seen what the Bussy of 1783 was. Yet this man, once so distinguished, had now an opportunity at the like of which he

* The impartial historian, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilks, by no means a lover of the French, states that "The English Admiral, after receiving the detailed reports of the state of each ship, found the whole of his equipments so entirely crippled, his crews so lamentably reduced, and the want of water so extreme, that he deemed it indispensable to incur the mortification of bearing away for the Roads of

Madras, whilst Suffren, wresting from his enemies the praise of superior address, and *even the claim of victory, if victory belong to him who attains his object*, resumed his position in the anchorage of Cuddalore." The italics are my own. Campbell and the author of the *Transactions* are, as usual, vague when the matter refers to the success of the French.

would have clutched in his younger days. Covered by the fleet, he could make an assault on the enemy,—the landing of whose battering train had been prevented by the success of Suffren,—with numbers superior to their own. Suffren urged him to this course; d'Offelize urged him; the officers of his staff urged him. But he would not. He let the golden moments slip. Then Suffren, disgusted, returned on board his ship, asking Bussy as he left him "if he expected that he could take his ships to beat the enemy on shore."

At last, after many hesitations, when General Stuart had recovered from the moral depression which the defeat of the English fleet had caused him, Bussy determined to risk a sortie. But a sortie to succeed must be composed of picked men, and those men must be well commanded. Bussy omitted both these necessary precautions. The men he ordered for the work were not only not specially selected, but their number was insufficient for the purpose; their leader moreover, the Chevalier de Dumas, was the least trusted officer in the French force.* The result corresponded to the plan. The sortie, made at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 26th June, was repulsed with the loss of about 40 men killed, and 100 taken prisoners.†

Notwithstanding this repulse, the English general was too well aware of his own comparative weakness to attempt an assault. He restricted himself therefore to a blockade, and that of merely a nominal nature. The French troops drew in unopposed all their supplies from the country, and Bussy, even the Bussy of 1783, had become so emboldened as to talk of an attack on the besiegers' camp with his combined force, when suddenly the intelligence that the preliminaries of peace had been signed in Europe, induced both contending parties to agree to a suspension of arms.

This suspension assumed on the 3rd September following a permanent character, by the announcement of the conclusion of the peace known in history as the treaty of Versailles.

The suspension of arms was most unfortunate for France. The army of Stuart before Kadalúr represented the last hope of the English in Southern India. It was reduced then by the want of supplies to the last extremities. An attack by the French in force could have scarcely failed to annihilate it. With its destruction

* C'était un vil intrigant d'une incapacité reconnue. *Roux*. Wilks says he was inconsolable at not having been wounded.

† Amongst the prisoners taken on this occasion was Bernadotte, afterwards Marshal of France, Prince of Pontecorvo, and King of Sweden. He was then a sergeant in the regi-

ment of Aquitaine. After he had attained greatness Bernadotte seized the earliest opportunity of expressing to Colonel Langenheim, who commanded the German legion at Kadalúr, and whom he met again in Hanover, his sense of the kindness with which he had been treated on that occasion.

Madras and all Southern India would have passed over to the French.*

But it was not to be ; nor, even if it had been, can it be imagined that the scion of the House of Bourbon who then governed France, well-intentioned though he may have been, would have refused to restore it without conditions. His predecessor, after having lavished French blood and spent French treasure in a war which was costly, and in spite of himself successful, restored at the peace which followed† all his conquests, and agreed even to dismiss his guest from his hearth, saying he "would not treat as a tradesman but as a king." This kingly method of benefiting one's adversaries at the expense of one's country would seem to be an heirloom of the House of Bourbon. For, with respect to India, the treaty of Versailles carried out precisely the same principle. The war which that treaty terminated had been a most disastrous war for England. She had lost, and rightly lost, her American colonies ; she seemed, for the moment, shorn of her prestige ; the French could have insisted at least on the restoration of her possessions in India to the *status quo ante* 1761. This was a cardinal point which neither the Republic nor the Empire would have foregone. But the Bourbons "treated as kings and not as traders." Consequently, though England had but one army in Southern India, and that army was exposed to destruction, Louis XVI. renounced every advantage, and allowed French India to accept, after a victorious campaign, conditions almost identical with those which had been forced upon her after the capture of her capital in 1761.

Yet the indifference of the ruler of France, noxious as it was to French interests, could not detract in the smallest degree from the merits of the illustrious man who did, for a time, restore French influence to Southern India. That man was the Bailli ‡ de Suffren. His five contests with an English fleet, of always nearly equal, sometimes of greater force, stamp him as being inferior to none of the great seamen whom France and England had till then produced. This has been virtually admitted by the writers on naval subjects of both nations. Mr. Clerk, whose work on naval tactics, originally published in 1778, is said to have inspired Rodney with the famous idea of breaking the line, republished, in 1790, an edition in which he cites the manœuvres of

* Professor H. H. Wilson thus writes on this subject: "It seems probable that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France, the South of India would have been lost to the English. The annihilation of the army at Cuddalore would have been followed by the siege of Ma-

dras, and there was little chance of defending it successfully against Tippoo and the French."

† The Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

‡ In 1782 he had been nominated Bailli of the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Suffren as constituting a lesson to all admirals to come, and indicates him, as having been the first commander to introduce the principle of fighting at close quarters, subsequently carried to so great a perfection by Nelson. Vice-Admiral Bouët Willaumez, in his work entitled '*Batailles de terre et de mer*,' says of Suffren that he was "the first to disdain the routine professed by the admirals of his epoch, consisting of ranging the squadron in one single line of battle. He cared not for the traditions which required one to fight at a moderate distance. He engaged within pistol-shot." The naval historian, Dr. Campbell, whose anti-French sympathies are strongly marked, is forced to admit that Suffren was "worthy of being the rival and opponent of Sir Edward Hughes". I have already cited the opinion of Colonel Wilks. Amongst all the works I have consulted on the subject I have not found a divergent sentiment.

The character of Suffren is thus justly summarised by M. Hennequin :* "To an imperturbable coolness in action Suffren united an extreme ardour and activity. Courageous even to rashness, he showed an inflexible rigour towards officers whom he suspected of weakness or cowardice. In a word, he united in his person all the qualities which make a warrior illustrious, a sailor skilful, and a man esteemed. Those who knew him, and especially the officers who sailed under his orders, never pronounce his name even now but with respect and admiration".

Suffren returned to France in 1784, to receive high honours from his Sovereign, but he did not long survive to enjoy them. He was killed in a duel in 1788 at the age of sixty-two.

Had he but lived, would he have been too old to command the fleet which fought Lord Howe on the 1st June 1794? Could he have occupied with advantage the place of Brueys and Villeneuve? These are questions which the French at least, who owned him and who glory in him, do ask, and which they have a right to ask. Nor will we, we English, who honour genius, and who recognise that genius in the man who, though a foreigner, was still the precursor of our own Nelson, grudge them the answer which their pride and their patriotism alike dictate.

Meanwhile peace between the European rivals reigned again in Southern India. By the interval of nine years which elapsed between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the outbreak of the war of the Revolution the English profited to fix their domination on a basis so substantial as to be proof against further direct hostility on the part of their great rival. But the indirect efforts which were then attempted were coloured by a tinge of romance almost entirely wanting in the history I have just recorded.

G. B. MALLESON.

* *Essai historique sur la vie et les campagnes du Bailli de Suffren.*

ART. III.—HURDWAR.

IF scenic effect can prepare the mind to receive the impressions of superstition, the situation of Hurdwár harmonises admirably with its mythology, of which a brief account has been given in a former paper.* The holy place stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at the very point where that river, bursting through the Sewálik hills, debouches upon the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source, about a thousand feet above the level of the sea. It seems to nestle in the bosom of the gorge formed by the disruption of the mountain chain, whose jagged ridges, grotesquely picturesque in their rude barrenness, though wanting, it is true, in real grandeur, overlook the waters of the mighty river, which here rushes over a bed of boulders and shingle sloping rapidly downwards from the forests of the Doon. This gorge is from one to one-and-a-half miles broad, so that the Ganges is not confined to one narrow course. The main stream, the Nil Dhárá, so called from its often assuming a dark blue colour under certain atmospheric conditions, washes the foot of Chándee Devee Puhár, a conical hill sacred to a goddess whose temple crowns its summit several hundred feet above the shore, dividing the Bijnour district of the North-West Provinces from British Gurhwál. On this side the scenery is more imposing, and boasts a somewhat richer vegetation than the heights commanding the town itself, past which flows a smaller channel that feeds the Ganges canal and rejoins the parent stream below Kunkhul, some two miles lower down. The space thus enclosed by the Nil Dhárá and its offshoot forms an island of considerable extent, chiefly composed of sand and shingle, but culturable in parts, and elsewhere clothed with under-wood, known as the Roree or Majhárá. Similar islands covered with jungle, sometimes bearing forest trees, occur here and there higher up. The neighbourhood once swarmed with game of every description, from a tiger to a jungle fowl; and a legend of the death of a lion at no great distance from Hurdwár, in years gone by, still flatters the imagination of enthusiastic sportsmen. The climate is perceptibly milder than that of the plains, and although, from the beginning of April till the commencement of the rains, the noontide sun beats down with tremendous force upon the valley, the heat is generally tempered after nightfall by a strong breeze blowing from the highlands, popularly termed the *Dadoo*, more poetically the *Ranee ka punkah*, or Queen's fan. In the whole of its majestic course from the Sewálíks to the sea, the Ganges presents us with no scene better calculated to impose upon the imagination of the devotee or please the eye of the ordinary

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi. Art. i.

spectator, and the advantages of the site are enhanced by associations inseparably connected with the traditional history of the Hindoo race.

Brahminical authority places Hurdwár within the boundaries of Menu's Bramháverta, and those who may feel inclined to doubt the correctness of this, will perhaps be prepared to admit that we should look for Bramárshi, the supposed mother-country of the Brahmans, somewhere in its vicinity. Its proximity to the earliest so-called Aryan colony of which anything is known, is also significant in connection with the veneration in which a place of such slight intrinsic importance, a small town consisting of only one street, whose existing shrines possess neither magnificence nor antiquity, has been held from time immemorial amongst the higher castes throughout the whole of India. In fact, pilgrimages elsewhere are but the reflection of the one ideal pilgrimage to Hurdwár. One would therefore naturally expect to find some allusion to it in the great national epic. We are accordingly told that Arjun bathed there during his self-imposed exile of twelve years. This episode has indeed been condemned as a Brahminical interpolation in the Mahabhárata, but why, it is not easy to understand, although the original passage may well have been altered and embellished to suit the taste of a modern audience, for the Bhurutkund Ráj is said to have extended northward to the foot of the Sewálíks, and Hustinapore is not much more than fifty miles south of Hurdwár, as the crow flies. To deny the deification of the Ganges, in common with that of many other rivers, a much more remote and deeper origin than Brahminical ritualism seems preposterous. The probable emotions of the first Aryan adventurers at the sight of the mighty stream might be compared, without any great effort of imagination, to those of Pizarro's followers at the sight of the Amazon, to those of the fugitives from Cunaxa at the sight of the sea, both in character and intensity. When these subsided, the natural impulse of a semi-barbarous horde would have been to adore the great river, and the simple element-worship that would thus spring up in such a community need not be confounded with the mummery of priestcraft, however anxious the priesthood may be to reconcile the two by means of a system elaborately devised for the purpose of confusing the understanding, and admirably calculated to do so. From this point of view, the union of Santunu, Bharata's great-grandson, with the goddess Gunga, should be regarded rather in the light of a national legend, symbolical of real facts, than as "one of those senseless myths by which the Brahmans sought to glorify the ancestry of the later Rajas,"* for has not the river

* Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 50.

proved a fostering mother to the descendants of those who settled on her banks?

While sojourning at Hurdwár, Arjun met Uloopee, daughter of Básukee, King of the Nágás, the inhabitants of Khánde Bun, a still familiar name applied to a great portion of the Meerut division from Bolundshehr to Saharunpore. Her immediate occupation was the same as his. She was *bathing*, and the story of her subsequent union with the Pandava is most probably typical of early intercourse between the Rajpoot and Takshac races. It is, however, remarkable that, whereas the Agurwâl and other Suraogee Buneas, who pretend to trace their descent from Vâsuk's daughters by the sons of Agur or Oogur Seyn, King of Oude, an alliance the account of which is at least curious, if not instructive, avoid Hurdwár itself religiously, they hold an annual fair at Hustinapore (*Kartik* 8th to 15th *Sudee*) and bathe there to their hearts' content, other sects, on the contrary, with perversity most provoking to the ethnologist, absolutely neglect Hustinapore, in spite of its close connection with the early history of their race. This anomaly renders the episode, whether authentic or interpolated, all the more significant. The narrative plainly implies that the sanctity of Hurdwár dates from a period anterior to its celebrity as a Brahminical *Tirth*, a character which it must have assumed long after the downfall of the Hustinapore Ráj. This conclusion is warranted by the admissions of the Brahmans themselves, who, when once induced to deal with sober facts, assign its earliest terrestrial glories to the close of the fourth century A. D. Towards the middle of the seventh, we at length learn something of the place from a credible eye-witness, unfortunately a most narrow-minded and one-sided observer, the ubiquitous Hwen Thsang (635 A. D.)*

Hurdwár was then situated on the eastern confine of Shrugná, a kingdom extending in breadth from the neighbourhood of Thanetur to the Ganges, and reaching in length from the Himalayas to Mozuffernugger, thus including a strip of Sirhind, a large patch of the Upper Doáb and the whole of Dehra Doon, besides part of the Kyárdá Doon, a circumstance corroborating the tradition of a Gurhwálee descent upon the plains in early times. The famous Khâlsee stone may indicate one of its boundaries, and the pillar removed by Shâh Feroze from Khizrâbâd, twenty-seven miles south-west of that venerable landmark, was most probably one of its public monuments. General Cunningham has identified the site of its capital with Sugh, a village on the right bank of the Boodhee Jumna, near Booreea. As

* Vide, *Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. ii., p. 213 seq.

might be expected, Buddhism had become unpopular at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. Nevertheless, the principality maintained several monasteries, of which the remains discovered at Behut, in the north-west of the Saharunpore district, by Captain Cautley in 1834, perhaps mark the site of one. Notwithstanding their heterodoxy, the Chinese traveller bears testimony favourable to the disposition of the inhabitants. They were, he says, frank and sincere, virtuous and studious. Virtue and literature are now at a discount, but the Goojur and Rajpoot population is still mainly composed of what may be considered, for Asiatics, fine manly fellows. Then they appear to have been more refined. Idolatry had, however, already obtained a pernicious ascendancy over their minds. The pilgrim specially notices the Ganges:—
 "In the profane histories of the country it is called Fo-chouï,
 "or the waters which bring happiness (Mahâbhadrà). Even
 "though one be steeped in crime, a dip therein is sufficient to
 "wash out all sin on the spot, and those who drown themselves
 "there out of contempt for life, are born again to everlasting
 "bliss among the gods. If the remains of a man are immersed
 "in it after death, he is saved from future punishment, and,
 "as the swelling waves flow onward with the current, his soul
 "is wafted to the opposite bank." A parable is here introduced, which seems to favour the suggestion that the local cultus may have been affected by Buddhistic influences*:—"There was
 "a man belonging to the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala—
 "Ceylon), named Ti-po-pousa (Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva), who possessed
 "a profound knowledge of the truth and understood the nature
 "of all the laws. Pitying the ignorance of his fellow-creatures,
 "he visited this country for the purpose of instructing them and
 "acting as their guide. So all, both men and women, young and
 "old, assembled on the banks of the river, whose waves were
 "agitated and rushing impetuously along. Then Dêva Bôdhi-
 "Sattva, softening the light of his countenance, tried to draw some
 "of the water, but it receded violently the moment he stooped
 "his head. Now he wore an air different from the common herd.
 "A heretic accordingly asked him, 'what, oh doctor, is the reason
 "of your strange demeanour?'

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva answered:—"My father, mother and nearest
 "relations are in the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala) and I fear
 "they are suffering from hunger and thirst, but I hope, notwithstanding the distance between us, to relieve them with this
 "refreshing water.'

"The heretics rejoined:—"You are mistaken, doctor. Why
 "did you not think twice before making such a foolish ex-

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 213 seq.

"periment? Your native land is a long way off, and is separated
 "from this by an immense tract of country with many moun-
 "tains and rivers between. If then you make the water spring
 "away from you for the purpose of appeasing the thirst of your
 "relatives, it is just as though you were to walk backwards for the
 "purpose of going forwards. In fact, no one ever heard of such
 "a thing."

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva replied:—'Even those who are kept by
 "their crimes in the path of darkness experience the good effects
 "of this water, and, though mountains and rivers separate us, why
 "should they not get relief from it?'"

"The heretics, then at length understanding the difficulty
 "propounded to them, acknowledged themselves beaten and ab-
 "jured their errors. They received the true law, corrected their
 "faults, were reformed, and finally expressed a desire to become
 "his disciples."

It is not easy to understand the exact nature of the problem
 propounded by Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva to the wretched heretics, still less
 the manner of its solution. At the same time, the description of
 the sage's proceedings has a peculiar significance with regard to
 the present subject, for his desire to convey Ganges water to
 his relatives can hardly fail to remind one of the fable about the
 resuscitation of Sâgur's sons, and the enunciation of a Brahmi-
 nical canon by an apostle of Buddhism is very striking:—"Even
 "those who are kept by their crimes in the path of darkness
 "(hell?) experience the good effects of this water." It is also
 remarkable that effigies of Buddha have been discovered amid the
 vestiges of the ancient structures that must once have covered
 the right bank of the river from the great bathing ghaut down
 to Myapore, which Hwen Thsang may be allowed to describe in
 his own words. "On the north-west frontier of this kingdom.
 "(Madâwur, now Bijnour), close to the *eastern(?)* bank of the
 "river King-Kia (the Ganges) stands the town of Mo-you-lo
 "(Mâyâpoor), which is twenty li (3½ miles) in circumference,
 "The population is very large, and streams of pure water encircle
 "it like a belt. The country produces Teou-chi (brass), crystal
 "and vessels made of precious stones."

"At a short distance from the town, near the Ganges, there is a
 "large temple sacred to the gods (Devâlaya), where many miracles
 "are performed. Inside there is a tank, the sides of which are
 "built of stones fitted together with great skill. A conduit has
 "been made to let water into it from the river. The inhabitants
 "of the five Indies call this place the *Gate of the Ganges* (Gungâ-
 "dwara). Here happiness is obtained and sins are washed out,
 "and people assemble at all seasons by hundreds and thousands to
 "bathe. Kings who love to do good, have here established a

"charitable institution (Pounyasâlâ), which is provided with
"choice viands and drugs of all sorts, for the purpose of distri-
"buting alms to widowers and widows, and assisting orphans and
"men who have lost their families."

Moyoulo is obviously Máyouira or Máyápoor, the town of Máyá not "la ville du paon," as suggested by St. Julien. But Hwen Thsang's topography presents one difficulty. Myapore is situated on the western or right bank of the Ganges, not on the eastern or left. General Cunningham in his archæological report for 1873-4* simply treats this as an undoubted mistake, an expedient which appears to me far preferable to the theory subsequently advanced in his *Ancient Geography of India*, that an old channel of the river may have once flowed close under the hills over "ground now covered with the houses of Hurdwár," which is a physical impossibility. Another alternative is left. It should be remembered that Máyápooree Kshetr is not confined to the site of Máyápoor Proper at the head of the Ganges Canal, but includes a very extensive tract reaching a long way south. Hwen Thsang's Moyoulo may have been identical with Kunkhul, a town of great antiquity and sanctity, and it is likely enough that the very same branch of the Ganges which now washes its eastern outskirts may have formerly flowed on the other side of the town, west of which the trace of an old channel can be easily detected. The Chinese traveller too explicitly mentions that the place was *surrounded by water on all sides*

It is observable that the worship of Vishnu and Mahádev had not yet superseded that of the goddess Gunga, nor the name of Hureedwár or Hurdwár that of Gungadwár, so that Hwen Thsang's tour must be supposed to have taken place in the Treta Yug, a fact which further stultifies Brahminical chronology. The temple signalled by him must have stood on the rising ground behind the ghaut leading down to the Brimh Kund (the Hur Kee Pairee), where the Brahmans exhibit a ruin that evidently belonged to a magnificent structure in former days, said to be the remains of a temple erected by Shunker Swámees in honor of Mahadev.†

After Hwen Thsang's visit, Hurdwár disappears from the pages of authentic history for hundreds of years, and we hear nothing of it till the time of Timour's invasion, except from the traditions of the Poondeers, the predominant Rajpoot clan in the Upper Doáb, who love to associate their earliest permanent settlements between the rivers, about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, with this interesting spot.

* Vide, *Published Report*, vol. ii, p. 231, of *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i., p. 315. † Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 98.

They are as vague about their antecedents previous to that date as the priesthood on the subject of their religion before the appearance of Shunker Acharj. This practical disclaimer of any very ancient civilization follows the usual prelude of fiction, to which we must now return.

The Poondeers are Sun-born (Surajbunsees). Their eponymous hero is Polustya, the sage of Kedáru—whence the name Polust or Polist, their family designation (*gote*). This famous Rishee, properly speaking, one of the ten primeval beings who sprung from Brahma's body at the creation, appears in the local genealogies as the son of Srádhádev. The Polist pedigree, between which and one collated by Mr. J. Prinsep from various lists* there is, in many respects, a surprising agreement, is far too long to reproduce *in extenso*. It will be sufficient to note the most striking points in it. We first find the Polists, according to their own account, located in lower Bengal under the leadership of Rohtas or Rohtáswa, the supposed founder of Rohtásgurb, twenty-third in descent from Mareechee, twentieth in descent from Srádhádev. Twenty-fifth in descent from him comes the illustrious Ram Chunder, whose second son, Kush, was the progenitor of the true Poondeers. Indeed he is generally admitted to have been the first who bore this soubriquet. Opinions differ about its origin. Some say his father and mother went to Kulkshetr (Thanesur) to make an offering to the *manes* of his grandfather Dusarath, and Seeta sat down by the edge of the sacred pool to wait for her husband, while he went to purchase the ingredients necessary for preparing a votive cake (flour, rice, &c.), but he stayed away at the bazaar so long that she got tired and determined to do the business herself. So she kneaded a ball of clay (*pind*) into the semblance of the real thing and threw it into the water. The old man's spirit was thus appeased, and a shadowy hand, rising from the depths of the pool, grasped the gift as it fell. Kush, being born shortly after, was nicknamed Pindeer, which was jingled into Pind Poondeer and afterwards became Poondeer. Others tell a quite different story. After being rescued from Rávana, Seeta took up her abode in the woods with the blind Rishee Valmeekee, and there brought forth her elder son Lava. Now the old man used to take care of the infant every day, while the mother went out of doors to bathe. But one day she happened to take the boy away with her during his absence. When he returned, he groped about in vain, looking for the child, and could not make out what had become of it. Convinced at last that it was lost, he resolved to provide a substitute, and, moulding an effigy out of a lump of clay (*pind*) stiffened with Kusha grass, in the likeness of the boy, he in-

* *Essays on Indian Antiquities, &c.*, Edited by E. Thomas, Vol. ii, p. 232.

spired it with life, so that Seeta, on her return, found herself the mother of two children, the second of whom was distinguished by the jingling title of Pind Poondeer. Another much more probable derivation will be noticed presently.

Telingdev, the eighth in descent from Kush, emigrated from Oude to Behár, which was called Telinga or Telingdesh after him, and is generally known by that name up country. A descendant of his (seventh in descent?), Raja Jurásur of Laharoo, was the victim of a strange phenomenon. A long hair grew out of the palm of one of his hands and persisted in growing longer and longer, in spite of every effort made to eradicate it. His advisers came to the conclusion that the consecration of a white elephant to the gods was the only sure means of getting rid of the excrescence. White elephants were, however, almost as scarce as white crows, and the king eventually had recourse to a pilgrimage to Thanesur. During the performance of his ablutions at that place, he accidentally learned that Raja Sondhoo, the principal local magnate and a Kolee Rajpoot, had an animal that would suit his purpose exactly. He consequently made a bid for it, but Sondhoo would not come to terms. Jurásur, being a much more powerful chief, accordingly announced his intention of seizing the prize by force of arms, and at once proceeded to do so. Sondhoo then compromised the matter by giving his daughter Alupdey in marriage to Murásur, the stranger's son, with the white elephant, a very valuable mare and other presents as a dower (672 S.) Jurásur was thus placed in a position to perform the needful ceremony, and returned to his seat of government with his hand perfectly bald.

Murásur settled at Poondree, not far from Kaithul. His career was short and came to a tragic end. Incompatibility of temper proved the bane of his married life. Ranee Alupdey was a woman of an imperious intractable disposition, utterly devoid of humour, whereas her husband had a keen sense of the ridiculous and loved a joke at her expense. His favourite witticism was to tell his syce 'to be quick and saddle the Kolin,' in allusion to his wife's caste, whenever he wanted to have a ride on the mare. This he repeated once too often, for the Ranee at length lost patience and got her brothers to assassinate him.

Having had her revenge, Alupdey felt it her duty to immolate herself upon her murdered husband's funeral pyre, where she made the necessary arrangements for self-cremation, after decently disposing the household property around her in the time-honoured Scythian fashion. But just as the attendants were kindling the pile, Rae Sham Das, the family bard (Bhát), solicited the donation usual on such occasions. The lady answered that she had nothing to give him, all her goods and chattels having

been dedicated to the gods. He still persisted, and a sublime idea suddenly struck her. She was seven months gone with child, and there was no reason why the life of the infant should be sacrificed as well as her own. So she asked for a knife, cut her belly open, and extracting the babe with an unflinching hand, consigned it to the care of the importunate bard, as the only gift she had to bestow.

Modern history affords an instance of similar fortitude. When the news of brave Daood Khan's death at the battle of Burhanpore reached Ahmedabad, his wife, the daughter of a Hindoo zemindár, happening to be in the same condition as Alupdey, seized a dagger, a love token from her husband, and ripping herself up with amazing dexterity, carefully drew forth the child, which she handed to a bystander, and then expired.*

The pith of the earlier precedent lies in the fact that pregnancy was a bar to the suicidal rite of *suttee*, for which Alupdey having thus qualified herself calmly submitted her body to the flames. Sham Das fulfilled his trust religiously. Adopting the boy, he called him Soma Singh (corrupted to Ism Singh†), apparently from Soma, the Moon; a name indicating the relationship of his family to the Lunar rather than the Solar race, and, in process of time, had him betrothed to the daughter of the Rajá of Lowkee, a town situated a few miles south of Sumána. When the lad reached man's estate, the story of his father's fate filled his heart with a desire for vengeance, but this was plainly impossible without the assistance of his relatives in Behár. He therefore sought the help of his grandfather, and, returning to Poondree at the head of 12,000 Rajpoot cavaliers, declared war against King Sondhoo, whose stock was soon extirpated. The young Raja then led a colony to Myapore, whence his descendants spread over the land, colonising 1,444 villages, half on this side of the Ganges, half on the other. I may here pause to suggest the strong probability of Poondeer being a local title derived from Poondree, where the Poondeers rested before permanently occupying the Antarbed.

Baisákh Budee 13th, 721S. is the generally accepted date of Ism Singh's arrival at Myapore, where he assumed the title of "King of Hurdwár," erecting a sacred standard on the Hur-kee Pairee. The Polist genealogy places only seventeen generations between him and Ram Chunder, detracting immensely from the antiquity of the Ramáyana, unless his intermediate ancestors be supposed to have had very long lives. The Poondeers also insist upon attributing the revival of the glory of Hurdwár, not to

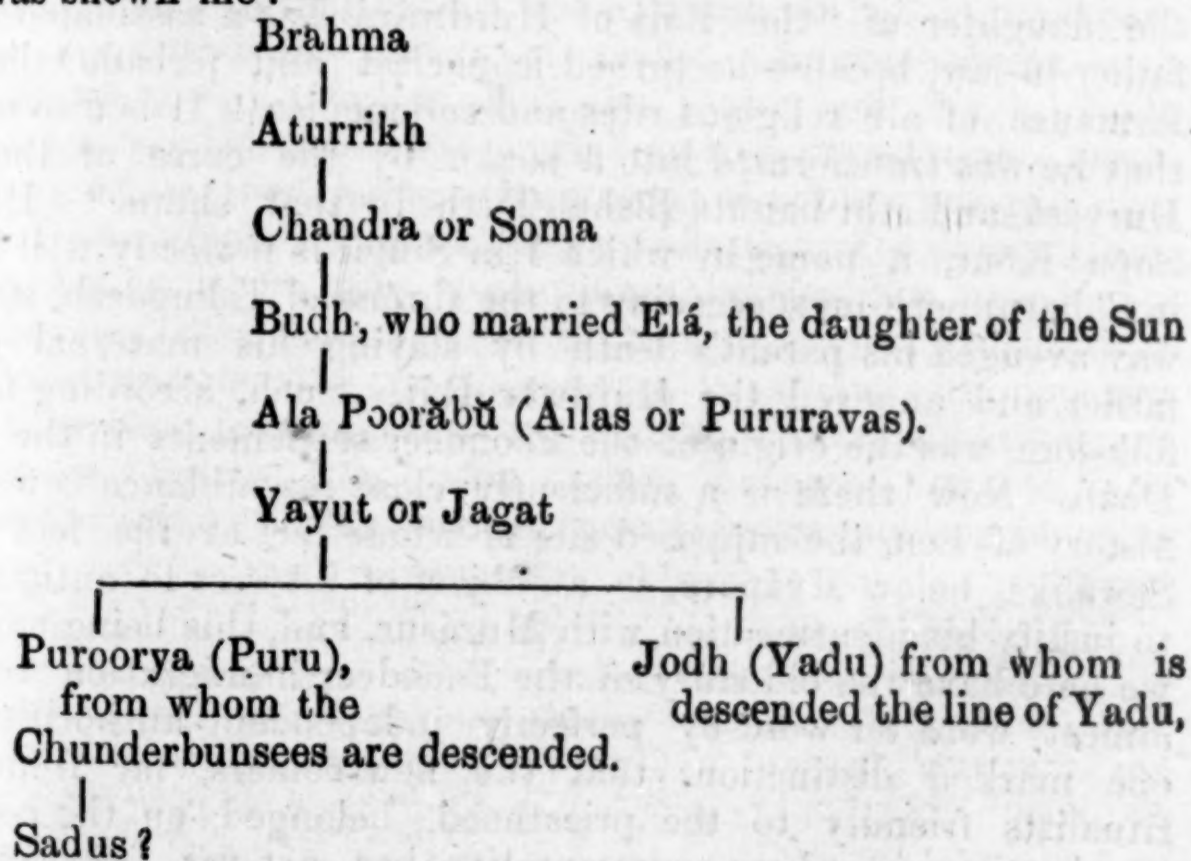
* Translation of the *Sair-ul-muta* — † *Aliás* Usmásur, Sopa or Sobah Khureen, Calcutta Edition, 1789, Vol. Kour, and sometimes Ismdo. p. 103.

Shunker Acharj, but to Ism Singh, three hundred years later. The place, they add, was then desolate and the whole country in a state of anarchy, foreshadowed, perhaps, by Hwen Thsang's observations, thirty years before, on the decay of the capital, and his silence on the subject of a local Government. At all events, there was no community in the neighbourhood powerful enough to resist the encroachments of the Rajpoot colonists, who continued to organize expeditions in search of fresh acquisitions year after year. In this manner they gradually pushed their way as far as Koel and Etah, becoming, in the mean-time, the back-bone of the population of Saharunpore. Although the leader of each successive band of adventurers arrogated to himself the title of Rájá, which no one cared to dispute, it is acknowledged that the minor heroes of the race were nothing more than influential zemindárs, owing their independence to what produced a great abundance of Rájás and Maharájás in later days, the absence of any paramount authority. Sometimes the head of the family preferred trying his fortune abroad, yielding his birth-right to a younger brother. Thus Jouálá or Jálup, grandson of Rájá Chand, gave his name to Jouálápore (1132, S.), a town two miles south-west of Hurdwár, now a hotbed of Muhammadanism, in spite of the strong Brahminical element in the population, while his elder brother, Náthuh, founded a well-known colony composed of twelve villages, called after him the Náthuh Béráñ, on the northern border of the Mozuffernugger district. The story goes that he was riding along through the forest that still covered the greater part of the country, when he chanced to see a ram fighting with a goat. The augurs in his suite decided this to be an auspicious omen, for the land that had a good breed of animals would be sure to breed good men, and was made for warriors to dwell in. At this the chieftain cast his horsewhip—the sceptre of the mounted Rajpoot—upon the ground, in token that the soil was henceforth his, but his counsellors rebuked him, foretelling that the rule of one who threw his sceptre away could not abide. Nevertheless, Rájá Náthuh pitched his tents upon the spot, calling it Sona (सोन), because it was desolate. From Sona sprang eleven off-shoots, the whole twelve constituting the Náthuh commonwealth.

With Náthuh came his brother Chondá, who rested at Nulherá Burabás, a few miles eastward. Burabás is the equivalent of Theeká, a designation commonly applied to the principal of a homogeneous cluster of villages. His people eventually spread over the Khátah, a tract comprising forty-two townships, occupied by a robust and turbulent peasantry, who acquired an unenviable notoriety during the earlier Sikh invasions and have maintained their reputation in the present century.

The power of the Poondeers had reached its zenith by the time of the Muhammadan conquest, and they retained considerable local influence down to the decline and fall of the Empire, when the Goojur chieftains of Juberherah and Bysoomha organized a confederacy capable of making head against them. To this day the whole of the triangular tract traversed by the Ganges and Jumna watershed, extending from the village of Kujoorwálá near Deobund, in the heart of Saharunpore, due north to the foot of the Sewálíks, and north-east to the town of Jourasee, sixteen miles from Hurdwár, is called the Rotálá, the land of the Ráwuts or Raos, the kinsmen of the Ráná, the titular Chief of the clan, who is still regarded with sentimental reverence by all except the Muhammadan perverts of the Jouálápore stock, notwithstanding poverty and misfortune.

The Saharunpore legends about the settlement of the Poondeers at Hurdwár receive curious confirmation from those of Etah,* where these Rajpoots appear under the name of Pooreers, an obvious corruption of the original title. It is, however, strange that, whereas those of the Upper Doâb stoutly maintain their descent from the sun, in the face of Ism Singh's suggestive surname Soma, the Etah men are equally positive that they are descended from the moon, and claim Pandu as their eponymous hero; but this apparent contradiction probably denotes nothing more than a missing link between two separate classes of tradition. The Etah genealogy, apparently a mutilated abstract, is given as it was shown me:—



* Communicated to me by Mr. W. Police, Mozuffernugger.
Williams, District Superintendent of

his impleties. Rájá Chánd, whose name has been already mentioned, is said to have emigrated to Etah about one thousand years ago. Dheer or Dheer Sáwunt, a hero famous in Rajpoot tradition, appears as one of his sons both in the Saharunpore and the Etah pedigrees. Another was Bijey Singh, the founder of Bijey Gurh in Bundlekhund,* where, according to some authorities, their descendants are called Bondelas, Bunáphul and Chundele. Although this identification of the Poondeers with the Bondelas may, of course, be simply an accident of fiction, it agrees most happily with General Cunningham's identification of Tri-Kalinga, whose Rájás assumed the title of Lords of Kálanjjarapura, Kalinjer in Bundlekhund, with Telingáúá or Telingdesh† The same authority places the kingdom of the 'Pundirs or Pándayas' west of the Jumna, corroborating the Saharunpore tradition of their sojourn at Pae Poondree, before they entered the Doáb. The *Gote* of the Etah Poondeers is 'Parusur,' from the sage Purushuru, son of Shuktru by Ila, daughter of the Sun, to whom there is a tank sacred at Thanesur.

The various accounts of their progress can hardly be reconciled with the generally received theory of an Aryan invasion from the West and the subsequent colonisation of the country by the invaders at a very remote period, except on the supposition of an exodus in consequence of pressure from without, followed by a return to their more ancient seats when that pressure was removed; a conjecture warranted by the discrepancies between the cognate legends just noticed, in which Pandavas of Hustinapore are confounded with Polists of Oude, Chunderbunsees with Surajbunsees, the godless Ben with the pious Ism Singh, Nágá scions being at the same time grafted on to a pure Rajpoot stock. Their neighbours, the Khoobur Goojurs, the next most powerful clan in the Upper Doáb, preserve some recollection of a descent from the race before which they, in all human probability, receded,—from the line of Jugdeo Puwár of Sreenugger in Gurhwál; a claim supported by the pretensions of the Chandpore dynasty, said to have been founded either by Kunuk Pál of Dhârânugger or Dhâr, in Malwa, the cradle of the Khooburs, or by Bhog Dunt of Gujerát.‡ If this be true, these Goojurs must be connect-

* This is, however, contradicted by a different account received from Mr. R. Hobart, c.s., according to which Dheer Singh and Bijey Singh, invading Coel, defeated the Aheer King Sumra, and changed the name of his stronghold, situated in the Sekundrah pergunnah of the Allygurh district, to Bijeygurh. The principal Pooreer settlement in Etah is in the Bilram

pergunnah of the Kasgunj Tuhseel. It was originally a cluster of eight villages (since split into thirteen), whence the inhabitants style themselves the "Athgaen Pooreers."

† *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i., p. 518 cf. 136.

‡ Vide *Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon*, p. 81.

ed with the Bogsás, * a half savage people inhabiting the borders of Kumaon, who reckon Jugdeo and Bhog Dhunt among their ancestors. Kunuk Pál is supposed to be identical with the famous Kanishka, and that both these tribes are of Scythian origin can hardly be doubted, though they style themselves Thákurs who have lost caste. The chances are that they are hybrids sprung from an intermixture of the Scythian and Rajpoot races. However this may be, the catastrophe of the great local epic,† the departure of the five Pandavas through the country of Banga towards the rising sun and their final disappearance in the Himalaya, if it be allowed to have any meaning at all, must be typical of a Rajpoot emigration eastwards to Oude, Behár and Telingána, where a more oriental position would naturally suggest the title of Surajbunsee in preference to that of Chunderbunsee.

The Tagas of the Upper Doab, who are identical with the Bhoinhárs of Benares and Ghazeepore, and whose settlements will be almost invariably found to have been made under the wing of the Rajpoots, imitate the Saharunpore Poondeers in referring their origin to the far East, but, like those of Etah, allude to an ebb and flow of population under the influence of contact with aliens. Parikshit, Arjun's grandson, having died by the bite of a snake (Nágá), at Sukertal on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mozuffernugger district, his son, Rájá Janamejaya, resolved to expiate his father's death by extirpating the obnoxious race in

* The literal meaning of the word Bogsá is "sorcerer." See Batten's report on the Bhábur.

† The Brahminical account of this is, that the Pandavas passed through the Doon, penetrated into the Himalayas, and immolated themselves at Mahá Panth, a peak behind Kidár—a palpable invention designed to associate comparatively modern shrines with venerable national traditions. The whole of Saharunpore and Mozuffernugger teems with reminiscences of the Mahabhárata. Deobund or Devee Bun, the grove sacred to Devee, is one of the places where the Pandavas tarried during their twelve years' exile. The Tuláh Soorá fair, once extremely popular, is annually held in memory of the preliminary operations ending in the decisive struggle at Kurukshetr. The Pandavas at first intending to deliver battle on this side of the Jumua, halted at Bháoopoor close to the town of Saharunpore, and

Bheema proceeded to have a tank dug for the purpose of providing the army with water, but an image of the cow Soora was exhumed during its excavation. Unwilling therefore to shed blood on the spot, they marched westward. The foundation of Nukoor, an alleged corruption of Nukur or Nukul, is attributed to the hero Nukul, Suhadev's brother. The town of Jusmore in the south-eastern corner of the Mozuffernugger district likewise stands on classic ground, for its founder was the old king Dhritárashttra, called Jusrut in the modern vernacular, and its glories are commemorated in the dogrel:

"Jusrat ká Jusmore"

"Bijey ká Bijnore."

The two strongholds being situated opposite to one another on the ridges overlooking the trough of the Ganges, the towers of the one are supposed to have been visible from those of the other.

one general holocaust. The presence of two pure Brahmans, an apparently rare commodity at the period, was essential to the efficacy of the sacrifice. Now the Levites of Gaur * in Lower Bengal, anxious to avoid a disagreeable duty and yet afraid of offending the monarch, deputed two boys to officiate, charging them to abstain from accepting any remuneration for their services. They consequently declined to receive the presents offered them, but the king determined not to put himself under an obligation. So he had deeds conveying certain lands to the young Brahmans and their heirs for ever rolled up in the betel presented to them at their departure. On the road back they discovered the trick, which compelled them to abandon their own profession (whence the name Taga, from त्याग "abandon") and betake themselves to agriculture. The town of Jánsuth, now a Seyud colony, was included in their estates. This hackneyed tradition is current throughout the length and breadth of the North-West Provinces. A well-known descendant of the recipients of Janamejaya's bounty is H. H. Ishree Pershád, the Bhoinhár Maharájá of Benares. They were also the progenitors of the various Taga clans scattered over the Doáb north of Delhi, most of whom, notwithstanding their anxiety to establish an ancient connection with Gaur in Bengal, say that their forefathers came directly from the country west of the Jumna, following in the train of their Rajpoot patrons, notably the Neemtán Tagas of Churthawul in Mozuffernugger, whose last resting place before settling permanently between the Ganges and Jumna was the Páe Poondree of the Poondeers (730 S.). A striking point in the myth of the serpent sacrifice is the pardon of Básukee, the Nágá King of Pátala, Arjun's father-in-law, and of Tukshuk, at the intercession of the Brahman Astiku, himself the latter's nephew, an incident denoting occasional friendly intercourse between the antagonistic races, a fact which would at once explain the presence of such names as Nág Arjun and Ram Nágá in the genealogy of a tribe priding itself in an unsullied Aryan descent. The Brahmans, on the other hand, assert that the line of Parikshit maintained its original purity until the assassination of Kshemuk, Khemrâj or Khevanraj, the twenty-eighth king of Indraprastha, about 600 B.C., † an event placed by them at the commencement of the Kál Yug, a period, in their parlance, marking the ascendancy of Buddhism under the protection of Mahánund of Canouj. It was, in fact, that of the Indo-Scythian supremacy. At length (71 B. C.), the last King, Rájpal, lost his life in battle with Shukuditya or Sukwanti, King of Kumaon, who may be

* One authority says, with much greater show of reason, Cashmere Appendix, p. 32.
 † Tod's *Rajasthan* vol. i., p. 45, Vide *Census Report* of 1865, vol. i. Table ii.

safely identified with Shuktee Pâl, Raja of Gurhwâl,* and "the sons of Himáchul," a Scythian horde, seized upon the capital. Vikram the Great succeeded in repulsing the invaders for a time (57 B. C.), but he succumbed to the prowess of the Saka Salivâhana, and henceforth, according to the Ráj Tarangini, "princes from the Sewálik or northern hills, held Delhi," till they in turn were ousted by the Tuars. The local appellation of the intruders is "Mulekchee" (Mlechcha), which endorses Prinsep's opinion that the 'Mlechchas of the Indus' were Indo-Scythians.† Among them may be reckoned, (besides the Goojurs, who are so numerous in Saharunpore that a large portion of the district is called Gujerát in contradistinction to the Rotálá), the Játs, some of whom ‡ cherish traditions of an immigration from Gurh Gujnee, apparently Ghuznee in Afghanistan, not far from the confines of Gundhârâ, an appanage of Kanishka, the Tartar Prince who introduced Buddhism into Cashmere under an hierarch named Nagarjun, possibly the prototype of, if not actually identical with, the Nagarjun of the Etah Poondeers. Now it is remarkable that, while the ethnological relationship of the Játs and Goojurs may be presumed, *firstly*, from their being invariably found in juxtaposition from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges; *secondly*, from their observance of the practice of *kurao*, that is to say, marriage with a deceased brother's wife; *thirdly*, from the nature of their claim to Aryan parentage, namely, that they are Rajpoots whose ancestors lost caste in consequence of adopting the said custom, and, *fourthly*, from their both being regarded in exactly the same light by the Rajpoots, who do not acknowledge any material difference between them; coins of the Kanishka or Kanerkos series have been discovered at Behut near the foot of the Sewálik, under circumstances of peculiar interest, for it can hardly be an accidental coincidence that, the foundation of the Gurhwâl dynasty being generally attributed to Kunuk of Dhârâ-nugger in Saurashtra (Gujerát), the ancient home of the Khooburs, the emigration of a Kunuksain, identified with Kanerkos, from Khoshala-desha to Gujarát is also on record,§ and that the Sourashtra coins are linked with the Behut group by a common symbol, the *Chaityâ*, the title of Sáh being likewise common to the Gurhwâl and Sourashtra dynasties. It does not therefore appear unreasonable to refer the advent of the Goojurs and Játs to the period of the invasion signalled in the Ráj Tarangini and to connect a part at least of Cautley's discoveries at Behut with the same event. A different series of coins, some specimens of which have been found

* *Memoir of Dehra Doon*, p. 84, cf Tod, vol. i. pp., 51-105.

† *Antiquities*, p. 397, vol. i.

‡ e. g. the Gunthwâl or Gunth-

wârâ Játs, who have a Baonee south-east of Shamlee.

§ *Antiquities ut suprà*, pp. 253-283

cf p. 84, &c.

at Hurdwár itself, bearing the impression of a hill-goat on one side and of a warrior on the other,* probably found their way into Saharunpore together with those of the Kanerki mint.

The restoration of Indraprastha in 792 A. D.† is ascribed to the Tuars, whose relationship with the Poondeers is preserved in the Etah genealogy. The date here given contradicts the oral history of the Rajpoot anabasis to Hurdwár by a hundred years, and, as might be expected, the Brahmans have another version of the story.

After the pure Hindoo dynasties had melted away before the race of Sisunàg, Sakya Sinh Gautum propagated the religion of Budh without let or hindrance, until it reached its acme in the reign of Mahanund. At last the Brahmans, determined to restore the true faith, created four new tribes of genuine Kshatryas from a pond of fire on the summit of Mount Aboo, the Pamars, the Chouhans, the Solunkies and the Purihárs (359 *ante* Vikram.) The fire-born warriors nobly fulfilled their mission and completely extirpated the Buddhists by the eighth century after Vikram. Meanwhile, in the fifth century, an Andhrabunsee Rájá, Pulomarchee by name, came to bathe at Hurdwár with a large retinue of Rajpoot Sirdárs. He was, of course, delighted with Máyápoor, having never before beheld so fertile a soil and such beautiful scenery, and was charmed with the meek devotional character of the inhabitants. He therefore entrusted the place to the keeping of one of his Poondeer chieftains, whose descendants, as we have seen, eventually occupied a large portion of the province. Pulomarchee then ascended the throne of Delhi and extended his sway to the confines of China. This potentate was king of Andhra or Telingána, and is supposed to have been contemporary with Shunker Acharj. He is also dubbed Pulom, a name recalling Tod's Beelun Deo, ‡ the Thákur crowned King of Delhi in 772 A.D., under the name of Anungpal, who, like Pulomarchee, became terrible even to the "Lords of Seemar" (the Snowy range). Perhaps Pulom and Beelan Deo are one and the same, but Pulom looks suspiciously like Polomun or Polomen, the Chinese for a Brahman. Professor Wilson has expressed the opinion that Shunker Acharj "flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century," § which, if correct, would make him contemporary with this monarch.

There is reason to believe that the Poondeer colony, said to have been planted by him under the Sewálik, formed a part of the famous Dahima tribe whose supposed disappearance is lamented by Tod,|| for Dheer, the guardian of the Lahore

* Vide, *Prinsep's Antiquities*, pl. vii, fig 4.

† *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51, note

‡ *Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 255.

§ *Vishnu Purana*, Preface ix-x.

|| *Rajasthan*, vol., i. p. 119 seq.

frontier under Prithiráj, who repulsed Shaháb-ud-Deen Ghoree's forces seven times (!), belonged to that stock and also bore the title of Poondeer. The defeat and death of the Chowhán King are ascribed to the hero's absence at Hurdwár during the campaign that ended in the capture of Delhi. Chánd Rae, the Khandirai of the Mahommedan historians, was his brother.

The Joualapore branch of the family seceded from Hindooism in the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, shortly after the foundation of Saharanpore by the same Emperor. This result is attributed to the influence of a missionary rejoicing in the sonorous appellation of Shah Mukdoom Juhanyán Jehángusht. The wife of Rájá Dhunee Chund, descendant of Jálup's, was barren, but the pious Sheikh demonstrated the efficacy of prayer to the one God by working a miracle, in consequence of which she bore her husband two sons, Bhopál and Mân Singh. The saint happened to be absent, pursuing his avocations in another province, during the lady's confinement, but, being intuitively aware of the event, speedily returned and asked to see the children. Dhunee Chund hid the elder and produced the younger. The holy man, however, demanded the former, Bhopál, as an offering to the true faith, and had him circumcised under the name of Rao Jumál-ud-Deen (12th Sudee Asauj, 1401 S.) The convert's descendants spread to Gurh Suleempore, Sekrowdah and Kheree along the crest of the highlands running parallel with the Sewálik hills from the Ganges to the Mohun Pass, twenty-eight miles north of Saharanpore.

At the close of the same century Hurdwár received a terrible visitation, which cannot be properly described without another digression.* On the 1st January 1399, Tamarlane's army crossed the Jumna, after the sack of Delhi, laden with booty, and encamped at the village of Mundowlah,† four miles beyond Lonee, in the Meerut district. The Tartars next encamped at Kátah, then at Baghput, and, reaching Suráee, a village some ten miles east of Baghput, on the road to Meerut, by the 9th January, halted, while several of the principal officers hastened forward to Meerut itself, expecting that the garrison would gladly capitulate. They were mistaken, for the Afghán Kotwál, Eleias, bade them defiance. This sealed the fate of Meerut and of the whole province. No sooner did Teimour receive intelligence of the Kotwál's presumption than he set out with the flower of his cavalry, 10,000 strong, and appeared before the walls of the devoted town, on the forenoon of the 7th. On the following day

* The principal authority used in what follows is the *Tozak-i-Taimouree*. See also Price's *Mahommedan Historians*, iii-i 257 seq., and

Dowson, iii-450 seq.

† The Mundowlah of the G. T. S. Map.

the place was taken by storm, and Sleeman is responsible for the statement that all the Hindoo inhabitants were flayed alive.* The older authorities merely mention that the garrison and infidel non-combatants were butchered in cold blood.

This success suggested to Teimour the idea of extending his investigations further north. He split his army into three divisions; the first, under the command of Ameer Jehán Sháh, was to march up the left bank of the Jumna; the second, under that of Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen, who had charge of the heavy baggage, was to follow the course of the Kalee Nuddee; while the third, under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief himself, guided by the river Ganges, kept pace with the two former. The evening after the fall of Meerut, the third division encamped at the village of Musooree,† ten miles north-east of that unfortunate town, and reached Ferozepore on the right bank of the Boodhee Gunga, six miles north of Hustinapore, the day after (9th January). Here Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mohammed forded the river with a detachment, the main body continuing its progress and halting a few miles higher up, when Seyud Khwájáh, Sheikh Aleé Baháder and Jehán Malik were sent with reinforcements to the support of the commanders who had already crossed over. Teimour himself was with difficulty dissuaded from joining them. On the morning of the 10th January he continued his march towards Toghlukpoor, a village in the Poor Chupár Pergunnah of the Mozuffernugger district, situated on the right bank of what is now the Solanee, a stream which issues from the Mohun Pass, and, after receiving the drainage of the triangular tract lying between it, the Sewálíks and the Ganges, discharges itself into that river near Sukertál. The lower part of its present course must have been then occupied by an old branch of the Ganges, the same apparently crossed by Ameer Sulimán Sháh lower down. This is clear from the context.

On the way to Toghlukpoor, news was brought that the enemy had collected in great force in the *Khádir*, and, while Mubáshir Baháder and Aleé Sultán Tuwatchee were reconnoitering with five thousand horse, it was announced that a fleet of boats fully equipped for battle and manned by unbelievers was coming down the river. Teimour happened at the moment to be troubled with the chronic swelling in his knee, to which he owes his popular nickname, Tamerlane or Tamerlang, but, in spite of the infirmity, he jumped on horseback, and galloped forward to meet the presumptuous infidels with a body-guard of one thousand

* *Rambles and Recollections* vol., go factory; the Munsoorah or Mansúra of the books.

† The site of a well-known indi-

picked men. The action commenced with continual discharges of arrows from both sides, and the archery of the Hindoos does not seem to have been inferior to that of their opponents. The troopers consequently dashed into the water, and, coming to close quarters, boarded the boats, whose crews were soon sent to hell, as the royal autobiographer grimly puts it. The prospect before them would account for the desperation with which some of them are said to have fought.

This naval combat must have been a very poor affair, because the stream can have been navigable to none but the very smallest craft, such as rafts, manned perhaps by Goojurs and Rajpoots from the Saharanpore and Mozuffernugger borders; possibly, a detachment from the army of Mubárik Khán, an imperial general posted on the far side of the river.

It took place a few miles south of Toghlukpore, where Teimour made another short halt, sending on Ameer Allahdád with two other officers to look for a ford and obtain information about the enemy's movements. During the night, Allahdád sent word that he had discovered a ford, made his way across, and found a large force of Hindoos rallied round Mubárik Kháu's standard. Tamerlane determined to give them no breathing time, started with his body-guard about midnight by torchlight leaving the rest of his troops to follow more leisurely, and, reaching the ford before daylight, immediately crossed the river, which, being that flowing past Toghlukpore, cannot have been the Ganges proper, as is invariably stated, but must have been either an old branch of the Ganges, which has since dwindled away and become lost in the Solanee, or the Solanee itself. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the stream forded by Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mahommed in front of Ferozepoor was not the true Ganges but a branch of it, the Budhee Gunga, whose channel has not yet completely dried up, and the probability of whose ancient connection with the Solanee is strengthened by the existence of a chain of swamps (*jheels*), running directly between the two along the south-eastern border of the Mozuffernugger district. If these two points, as well as another that will be presently noticed, be kept steadily in view, all the difficulties hitherto existing about the topography of Teimour's campaign in the Upper Doáb will at once melt away.

On the morning of the 11th January Tamerlane, with only 1,000 men, suddenly finding himself opposed to Mubárik Khán with 10,000, devoutly said his prayers, in answer to which Seyud Khwajah and Jehan Malik providentially appeared at the head of 5,000 horse. This good omen dictated speedy action. Shah Malik and Allahdád led 1,000 cavaliers to the charge. The enemy did not abide the result. They fled panic-stricken without attempting any resistance, and were mercilessly pursued, until

the survivors found refuge in the intricacies of the surrounding jungle. Ample booty in 'women, children, cows and buffaloes' fell into the hands of the Tartars. The action probably took place on the borders of the Puthree Nuddee forest, a tract intersected with ravines and swamps, which might have been supposed to be comparatively safe from intrusion.

Teimour now marched for the valley of the Ganges Proper,* in the direction of Hurdwár, then called Kowpileh, hearing that there was a prospect of more plunder on the road, where a great crowd of Hindoos had assembled in a strong position not far from the river. Pressing onwards with 500 troopers, while the rest secured the spoil, he swept down upon these wretched people, in all human probability, villagers who had sought the protection of some mud fort on the edge of the *Khádir* below Bhojepore. A ruthless massacre followed, in which Ameer Sháh Malik and Alee Sultán Tawatchee especially distinguished themselves. After the butchery was over, the Moghuls being now for the most part employed in the equally congenial occupation of collecting and packing up the plunder, an incident occurred that nearly cost the tyrant his life. Malik Sheikha, an Indian chief of great stature and courage, having rallied a few staunch followers, made a dash at him in the vain hope of ridding the world of the monster. Favoured by his resemblance to Sheikha Googuree, one of Teimour's own vassals, he might have succeeded in his design, had not the premature vehemence with which he laid about him on all sides undeceived the Tartars, who brought him to the ground with an arrow sticking in his belly and his skull cleft in twain. He was then bound hand and foot, and laid by the head and heels before the conqueror, who straightway commenced propounding questions to him. He expired during the process of examination.

Although Teimour, then sixty-three years of age, had endured the fatigue of a long march and two fights, after a sleepless night, fresh intelligence rendered him equal to further exertions. Another assemblage of the sacred inhabitants had collected for mutual protection some three or four miles further on, still in the "valley of Kowpileh," and the prospect of exterminating them urged him forward. The road lay over difficult, broken ground, encumbered with thick jungle, and his immediate followers had dwindled down to a mere handful of men, so that he could not help regretting the absence of Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, who, we have seen, had separated from him three days before. Strange to say, they suddenly appeared in the very nick of time to take part in the enterprise, which had

the usual monotonous result. Thanks were then solemnly offered up to the Almighty for all these mercies, and the whole army encamped upon the scene of the second encounter, there being no other place at hand where the tents could be pitched.

The fact that the second and third battle-fields are both placed in the "darah Kowpileh," or "the valley of Hurdwár," is consistent with the definition of Máyápooree Kshetr given in a former paper*. The sacred precinct extends eighteen *koss* (the short local *koss* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) south of Hurdwár. The writer of the Tozuk-i-Teimouree doubtless heard the term Kowpileh applied widely, and used it accordingly. My conclusion therefore is, that, on the night of the 11th January 1399, the Moghul camp was pitched close to the southern border of the hallowed tract, for the locality answering to the description of the holy town itself is said to have been fifteen *koss* beyond the encampment, which Price imagines to have been "at no great distance from Láldháng," in the extreme north of the Bijnour district, a conjecture so palpably improbable that it need not be discussed.

The Imperial Journal thus continues:—Fifteen *koss* higher up the river, again in the defile of Kowpileh, stood the image of a cow cut out of the solid rock, whose mouth was the source of the Ganges. People went thither on pilgrimages from all quarters, performed their ablutions, got shaved, offered up prayers, and distributed alms to ensure their salvation in the next world. Price† warns us against confounding the place here described with Gungootree, but erroneously concludes that it was Deoprág. It is now generally admitted to have been Hurdwár. The Moghuls left Meerut on the 8th, and it was no extraordinary performance to reach Hurdwár by the 12th, the date of their arrival at the reputed source of the Ganges; on the other hand, to lead an army to Deoprág in five days would be practically as much out of the question as to march to Gungootree in the same space of time.

The alleged position of the "Cow's Mouth" at the end of the fourteenth century tends to show that the Sub-Himalayan range then sheltered the *Ultima Thule* of Hindoo superstition, which has since receded into the very bosom of the hills, unless, indeed, we suppose that a Mahomedan fanatic, careless about profane mythology, hastily confounded the *débouché* of the Ganges on the plains with its actual source. A comparison, however, of the marches given in Teimour's memoirs with any good map will

* *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi. p. 195. Ganges, reached Hurdwár the next day, encamped at Láldháng east of

† He seems to think that Teimour, having left Toghlukpore on the night of the 10th January and crossed the Hurdwár the evening after, and reached Deoprág the day following.

show that the writer, whether the savage monarch himself or one of his admirers, has been wonderfully precise and accurate in the matter of distances.

Price's rendering of the passage from the Rooz-ut-u'-Sufa descriptive of the Brahminical town, is extremely quaint and worth reproducing:—"The sacred spot was the resort of numerous pilgrims from the remotest limits of this quarter of the Asiatic continent. Such, in short, is described to have been the blind stupidity of these uninstructed idolaters, that, although common sense and experience might have generally taught them that nothing good was to be expected from a mass of inert and insensate matter, they were, nevertheless, induced to bring the ashes of their dead from places most remote, and to commit them on this spot to the hallowed stream; accompanied by the richest oblations in gold and silver, as the surest means of averting present evil and of securing the highest gradations in a future state. Lastly, these simple enthusiasts conceived their devotions consummated in performing their ablutions, leg-deep, in the stream; casting its sacred waters over their heads, and shaving their heads and beards, before they quitted this scene of superstitious folly and puerility."

The Tartar reformer, learning the degraded moral condition of these miserable devotees, and moreover, that they had assembled in great numbers with an immense quantity of goods and chattels that might be converted to some useful purpose, resolved to bring his crescentade to an appropriate conclusion by killing, if he could not cure, them. The season happened to be peculiarly auspicious. A *Kumbh* fair* was not far off, and in *Kumbh* years crowds of pilgrims come and go to and from Hurdwâr, for many weeks before the great gathering, so that the profits anticipated from the venture were out of all comparison with its danger. In those days, the Hindoos were either fired with remarkable religious zeal, or had an extraordinary capacity for receiving punishment. Their recent experiences ought to have dictated flight to the fastnesses of the hills, but, instead of flying, they appear to have calmly awaited the invaders with a bold front. Their confidence may have been in a great measure derived from the strength of their position, a narrow defile with a river on their left and a mountain chain on their right flank, only approachable by an ascent from the plains, steep enough to have given them a decided advantage, had they been in other respects on a par with their antagonists, who, setting out at early dawn, can

* The Saharanpore district was it consequently took place in the invaded in 1399, and the last *Kumbh* former year. fair was in 1867. The fortieth before

hardly have arrived at Hurdwár before the afternoon of the 12th.

The apparent resolution of the enemy rendered Teimour more cautious than he had hitherto been, and he made a very careful disposition of his forces. He entrusted the right wing to Prince Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, the left to other leaders of inferior note, keeping the centre under his own immediate orders. Ameer Sháh Malik led the van. The host advanced with fierce war-cries accompanied by a hideous clashing of cymbals and rattling of kettle-drums, well calculated to inspire the enemy with dismay, but they bravely withstood the first charge. A second was more successful. The Hindoo ranks broke, the Moghul cavalry rode in among them, hewing right and left, and the fight degenerated into a sickening massacre. No quarter was given, and none escaped except those who managed to slink away into the recesses of the Sewálíks. An incalculable amount of booty rewarded the victory, and the satisfaction of the conqueror was intensified by a complacent conviction that the souls of his victims had been at length consigned to the eternal punishment appropriated by the believer to the invincible ignorance of the unbeliever in every age.*

Such an unvaried series of successes began to pall even upon the coarse taste of the insatiable Tamerlane, who consequently resolved to make a retrograde movement. He therefore said his prayers, and, leading his army five (?) *koss* south of Hurdwár, encamped upon the right bank of the Ganges.† On the 13th he resumed his progress, marching several miles in a north-westerly direction so as to meet the heavy baggage, which was at no great distance in front. He now learned that a vast multitude had assembled, with hostile intent, in one of the Sewálík passes, under the command of a powerful chief, Rae Behroz, presumably a Rajpoot, to judge from his title of Rae, most probably one of the old Poondeer stock, because he is particularly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as a local potentate. Be this as it may, he seems to have been the most formidable antagonist the Moghuls had yet encountered, a foe well worthy of their steel; a fact due to the general law that the strength of individual chieftains bears a direct ratio to the weakness of the supreme power. Tamerlane made preparations accordingly. He effected a junction with the second division at the foot of the hills, after another short march of five *koss* (14th January), and recalled the

* In plain English, "they were sent to hell."

† This, I apprehend, is the real meaning of the words *ابان اب فرود آمدن* not, that "he re-crossed the Ganges,"

and, assuming the above rendering to be correct, it becomes unnecessary to discuss the difficulty presented by the supposition that Hurdwár was then situated on the opposite side of the river.

first under Ameer Jehán Sháh, suspending operations during the concentration of his forces. The ferocity of the Moghuls was evidently tempered with prudence, for the Ameers attempted in vain to dissuade Teimour from coming to close quarters with the enemy, whose position placed them at a great disadvantage, rendering the employment of cavalry impossible. Conscious of the danger of leaving behind him an unbroken force, which might hang on the rear of his army and harass its retreat, ultimately perhaps embolden the people to rise *en masse* against the invaders, he remained resolute and calmly awaited the arrival of Ameer Jehán Sháh, thus giving his men three days' rest. By the 17th January his arrangements were complete, and on that day he advanced to the pass where Rájá Behroz bade him defiance.

The Moghuls were here compelled to abandon the advantage derived from their equestrian skill, which had constituted the chief element of their superiority over the Hindustanees in every previous encounter. Old Tamerlane himself was the first to set the rest a good example by dismounting; and, like him, his generals all led their men forward on foot. Standing at the entrance of the defile, he directed a simultaneous attack from three different points. Peer Mahommed and Sulimán Sháh commanded the right wing, Mirza Sultán Hussain and Ameer Jehán Sháh the left, Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen and Sháh Malik the advanced guard of the centre. It is unnecessary to enter into the monotonous details of the sanguinary conflict that ensued. Suffice it to say, that, although the infidels were, as a matter of course, at length overpowered, the battle does not appear to have been one of those one-sided butcheries dignified with the ill-merited title of victories by the somewhat partial author of Teimour's Memoirs, and we learn with satisfaction that, on this occasion at least, blood was freely shed on both sides. Such a wealth of booty in treasure, cattle and other property as was found in the Hindoo camp after the engagement had never been seen before. Its magnitude may be judged from the fact that many of the stouter soldiers appropriated from three to four hundred head of cattle each, to the detriment of their weaker comrades, which necessitated a re-distribution of the spoil. The enormous amount of live-stock accumulated in the stronghold illustrates the severe nature of the calamity that had befallen the country, more vividly than the longest list of killed and wounded. The miserable inhabitants of the villages in the plains had fled thither, driving their flocks and herds before them, trusting vainly to the apparent inaccessibility of the Sewálik hills and the valour of their Rájá for protection against the inexorable foe of the Hindoo race. The remains of the rude forts used as cities of refuge by the people

in those days of bloodshed and disaster may be still distinguished here and there along the spurs of the Sewálíks.*

The information given in the Tozuk-i-Teimouree about Rájá Behroz is most tantalizing, being just sufficient to excite the curiosity of the reader without affording any definite idea of the chieftain's personality. We are merely told that he was "Governor" (*hákim*) of the province and opposed the Tartars with the help of the Raes or Raos; but since the term Rao is peculiar to the Saharanpore Rajpoots, and gives a name to a large portion of the district, the Rotálá, it is not unreasonable to infer that he was the Ráná, the leader of the clan whose legendary history has been related in connection with the immediate subject of this paper, and there is a tradition that the Poondeers narrowly escaped extermination during Teimour's invasion. The scene of his defeat is even more doubtful than his identity, because the length and direction of the marches from Hurdwár to the defile where the great battle was fought are not noted with the autobiographer's usual precision. In my opinion, the Mohun Pass (Lal Durwázá), a gorge piercing the Sewálíks at a point nearly equidistant from the Ganges and Jumna, and marking the northern extremity of the Rotálá, has the strongest claim to be identified with it. Its entrance affords a better site for a large temporary encampment than any other part of the range, fugitives converging to one place for mutual protection would naturally select the most central point as a rendezvous, and my view is supported by the length of time occupied in marching from this last battle-field to the Jumna, about three and a half days. The first town mentioned during the retreat is Behrah Tuwáyá, which must be Tuwáyá near Behrah, nineteen miles south-west of Mohun on the direct line of march to Saharanpore. Some readings give "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Myapoor district," others "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Sárpoor district." Myapore was, it is true, a well-known name of pretty wide application long before Saharanpore was ever heard of. Still I believe Saharanpore to

* See the description of the *wulsa* of Southern India given in Colonel Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, vol. i., p. 309, note, which applies exactly to the case in point:—"On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from

their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence till the departure of the enemy. This custom struck the observant Baber forcibly. See translation of his *Memoirs* by Leyden and Erskine, p. 315, from which I have extracted the above quotation.

be the correct reading, because, when written in the Persian running hand, there is hardly any perceptible difference between it and "Sárpoor;" and the next march (19th) of four *koss* must have brought Teimour either to, or right through, that town, then too insignificant a place to merit special notice. On the following day the army halted at Kundah close to Sirsáwah, and re-crossed the Jumna on the 21st January, carrying away with it an incalculable accumulation of spoil, and the bitter curses of those who survived its coming. So crushing was the effect of this terrible incursion, that it has bequeathed little or nothing to the folk-lore of a highly imaginative people beyond a vague tendency among apostates to Mahommedanism to attribute the conversion of their ancestors to the persuasive eloquence of "Tipperlang." But that grim potentate busied himself rather with the destruction of the body than the salvation of the soul; and could an eye-witness rise from the dead to describe the deeds of the invaders, his words would be those of the fugitive from Bukhára, after its capture by Chengeez Khán,—“they came—they exfodiated—they bound—they massacred—and they consumed.”*

(To be continued.)

G. R. C. WILLIAMS, B. C. S.

* Price, vol, ii. p. 503.

ART. IV.—RECOLLECTIONS OF SERVIA. (*Independent
Section.*)

IT was in the year 1863 that, as the summer vacation—(one of those pleasant things we leave behind us when we come to India)—was drawing near, a friend of mine asked me, if I would come with him to Servia. At that time I was as ignorant of Servia as probably most people were before the outbreak of the present war. Servia seemed to my mind (by way of contrast, I suppose) to be connected with Liberia, and the name carried me at once, in imagination, to Africa. However, my friend soon enlightened my ignorance. He offered me Ranke's "History of Servia," and an account of it written by the Rev. W. Denton; and found no difficulty in persuading me to go to the country. The fact of its being almost unknown, and unvisited from England, gave it a special interest, and my friend procured for our benefit some letters of introduction, which are always so useful when one travels beyond the range of "Murray" and "Baedaker," and Anglicised hotels. Two other friends joined us, so that we started a company of four.

From Vienna to Pesth we went by rail, and there took steamer to Belgrade. As soon as we landed, we found that a gentleman, to whom we had an introduction, being absent from Belgrade himself, but expecting our arrival, had left orders for us to be brought to his rooms, which he kindly placed at our disposal during our stay in the capital. They were in the principal hotel, so that there was no difficulty about our meals. However, our first meal in the public dining-room was our last, for, from the very first afternoon of our arrival till the night of our departure, we found ourselves taken possession of by a hospitality which was as agreeable and irresistible as it was unexpected. We at once found that names before unheard of by us, or if heard of, scarce to be pronounced or remembered, were transformed into living friends. This simple, unsophisticated, and forcible demonstration of friendship soon did away with our scruples lest we should be intruding on their kindness, and we felt more at home than we had done since we left England. The same hospitality, which we met with at Belgrade, never failed us in our travel in the interior of the country. On the contrary, it was rather intensified. The fact that we were Englishmen was in itself sufficient recommendation; for, whatever may have been the policy of our Government towards Turkey, the name of England fortunately can never be dissevered from the cause of freedom. But, in addition to this, when we had planned our route, our friends at Belgrade sent word beforehand that we were coming, so that

we were able at every stage to find friends ready to welcome us, to give us all we needed, and to show us everything that we desired to see. It was only when we forsook the route planned out, that we had any occasion to put up at an inn.

The language, of course, was a difficulty to us. Servian is a Slavonic tongue, very like to the Russian, but none of our party knew anything of the Slavonian languages. French helped us a little, but German much more, and with the learned clergy we could always fall back on Latin. Most fortunately, too, a German Lutheran pastor, who lived in Belgrade, looking after a little congregation of Germans, accompanied us in our travels, so that we always had an interpreter. He knew English excellently, and Servian as well, and we found him a most kind and agreeable as well as useful companion.

Our mode of travelling was in two small waggons, each drawn by a pair of small, strong horses, well suited for the work. Altogether our party numbered six and a boy, besides the drivers, for we obtained through the kindness of friends a sort of official guide, guard, dragoman, or servant, who went by the name of Pandour, and who, by his magnificent costume, added as much to the picturesqueness of the party, as by his readiness and attention he did to our comfort. A good part of our journey was made on *pukka* roads, for the Servian *ráj* is like the English in opening up the country by means of road and telegraph. Sometimes, however, we forsook it for some mere track through one of those forests of great trees which are so conspicuous a part of Servian scenery. Sometimes we climbed some mountain path, so narrow that we wondered what would be the result of meeting any other vehicle on the road. The great variety of scenery in so small a country reminded us of England.

Since so great interest in Servia is naturally excited at the present time, I will try and write down the impressions which I carried away from it. To obtain a really good knowledge of a country from a month's stay in it, is of course impossible; but as few Englishmen have up to the present time visited it at all, and there is in consequence more speculation than real knowledge of the subject current among us, I think I shall not be suspected of presumption in penning my first-sight impressions of the country. Moreover, as I am not propounding any very profound views of her situation, or attempting any very accurate measurement of what I describe, I think I may hope to keep out of any serious error in the matter. I am only giving a broad and general view of the country, which, I venture to think, will be found true in the main, although of necessity it is defective in omitting the consideration of various matters, which a prolonged residence among the people might have brought to my notice.

The first impression which I carried away with me, was of the social order, and prosperity of the people. The mass of the inhabitants are independent yeomanry, cultivating their own soil, the very stuff out of which great nations are formed. Poverty and crime seemed almost unknown. What a contrast to the rest of Belgrade was the Turkish quarter! At the present time, I suppose, this contrast does not exist, for I imagine there is now no Turkish quarter. But at the time of my visit the fortress of Belgrade was garrisoned by the Turks, as well as the other principal fortresses of Servia. As since that time they have withdrawn, probably the Turkish population has gone with them. If so, all lovers of cleanliness will rejoice.

The simple, innocent life of the people might seem dull and stagnant to a Western mind, but it is no small thing to find a whole population thriving, contented, and uncontaminated by vice. What the statistics of crime are in Servia, I cannot say, but I believe that they are extremely low. Of course, on the frontier there is some robbery. English magistrates in India know the impediments to justice which the boundary line of a neighbouring country presents, even if that country is only one of our feudal native States. It is not difficult to understand how much greater the impediments would be to Servian justice on the confines of the country of their old enemy, the Turks. As for the morality of the people, what we were told about it by the clergy would seem incredible, did we not know from the experience of some similarly situated countries, what wonderful power the Christian religion has shown in promoting purity of life, under the favourable circumstances of a people untainted by luxury, and without the evil influences of crowded city life, or of the enforced celibacy of large armies. In Belgrade, which is the capital of Servia, there are only, I believe, 20,000 inhabitants, whilst there is scarce any standing army; the whole population, capable of bearing arms, forming a sort of militia, liable to be called to war, as in the present emergency. In all the schools religion is taught as a matter of course, and if the Eastern Church does not affect so much knowledge as we Christians of the West, perhaps they know better the little they do learn. A good knowledge of the Ten Commandments, and of the duties and privileges of a Christian, may serve to carry them through the temptations of life, even without an accurate knowledge of the Kings of Judah and Israel, or of the controversies between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The next thing I must mention is the patriotism of the Servians. It is no strange thing that this should be, as I believe it is, both wide-spread and intense. In the first place they have an historical name. They were once the centre of a large empire, which long withstood the attacks of the Turks. It appears to be the case

that they were victims of the intrigues of the Court of Rome ; and that when the Servian Empire fell, there was no barrier to keep back the Turks from advancing even to the walls of Vienna. St. Saba, a hero, or saint of that period, is the national patron of Servia, and his picture meets one everywhere.

But not only have they an ancient history, to which they may look back with mingled feelings of pride and regret, but they have also in the present century written for themselves a page of history, which must afford them greater encouragement than any of their more ancient glories. After having been for centuries the slaves of the Turks, it was no small valour which enabled this little country of peasants to rise, without arms, training, organization, or officers, and engage in that deadly struggle which ended in their liberation from the yoke of the Turks. Is it credible that the children and grandchildren of these heroes will again be brought under the yoke of the Turks ? Is it surprising that they aspire to form a modern Servian Empire, in which the glories of the ancient one may be re-produced ? Is it wonderful that sympathy, ambition, and self-preservation alike animate them to a war with Turkey on behalf of their oppressed brethren, and that they feel that they can never rest until the great population of Slavonic Christians in the northern part of the Turkish Empire receive their freedom ?

The choicest wine produced in Servia is called *Negotin*, and a remarkable custom exists with regard to it. When a bottle is opened, the question is asked "What is this ?" The opener replies, "Turk's blood." The answer comes, "Then let it flow." Probably it is impossible for us to conceive the deep hatred to the Turks which inspires the Servian nation. Generated by centuries of cruelty inflicted on their ancestors, and kept alive by the knowledge of the continual ill-treatment of those of their fellow Christians who are still under the Turkish rule, it is the frequent topic of their conversation, and the burden of many a fire-side song. Whether it is in harmony with the truest spirit of Christianity to retain their hatred, is not the question, but none can deny that it is a natural feeling. Indeed, so far as it is a noble determination not to rest until the Turks are driven out of Europe, it is as much to be commended as any other efforts after justice and peace. The Turkish Government is nothing else but organised injustice and cruelty, and if it is the duty of Christians to put down robbery and crime with a strong hand whenever they can do so, it does not cease to be a duty, because robbery, cruelty and lust have been so powerful, that they can usurp to themselves the title of government.

Under these circumstances it is perfectly unnecessary to look for an external motive to stir up the Servians to war with Turkey. Russian intrigues are by no means required to incite

a nation under such circumstances. The normal state of things in Servia is to desire a war. The only question is, when and how it might be successful. The sympathy of the Russians rather withholds from war, in the hope that the strong armies of Russia may do the work for them. The development of their own resources, the desire to take a place among the nations of Europe in the arts and products of civilisation, makes them slow to prepare for war, unwilling to waste their means on a regular standing army. But when, as in the present case, the opportunity seems to have come, and there is a crisis in Turkish affairs, which is not to be passed by, the people can no longer be restrained, however ill-prepared the Servian Government may know itself to be.

Some prejudice, perhaps, exists against Servia on account of the changes which have taken place in its government since the date of its freedom. The nineteenth century, however, has seen so many vicissitudes in the reigning families of Europe and in their forms of government, that we need not be surprised that Servia has had her little revolutions. Indeed, the fact that there was no royal family which could claim the allegiance of the people in the way that our old reigning families of Europe can, has been undoubtedly a great element of instability. Again, it takes time to find out exactly what constitution is best suited for any free people, and Servia is working out the problem for herself.

The religious spirit of Servia is also a very striking feature to an English traveller. There is no dissent. All the people are of one faith, and they recall that faith as having been their principle of union and hope during the long ages of oppression. The only ancient buildings in Servia, the only memorials of past glory which have not been effaced by the Turks, are the monasteries. These massive buildings, erected in the form of a square court with a church in the centre, look somewhat like fortresses, and have doubtless in past times served as such. These were the centres of life to Servia in its ages of slavery. There the people resorted in crowds at the time of the great feasts, and receiving the sacraments from the hands of the monks, were consoled and strengthened, and encouraged to hope and pray.

The custom of congregating at these churches on great feasts is still kept up. We were present at one of them, and the scene can never be forgotten. The day of the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or as it is called her *Koimésis* (falling asleep), is observed with great solemnity in the Greek Church, though whether they have any notion of a bodily assumption into heaven, like that current among the Latins, I cannot say. One would think not, because the legend of the bodily assumption represents it as occurring the third day after the death of the Blessed Virgin, so that it would

seem strange if both were commemorated on the same date. However, I leave this question to the learned. At any rate this feast is one of the chief ones in the ecclesiastical year, and is preceded by twelve days' fast, during which no meat is killed throughout the whole country. Occurring as it does in August, it is a most seasonable time for large gatherings.

Late on the night before the feast, we were driving by the light of a full moon up a narrow well-wooded glen, when taking a turn in the road, we suddenly came in view of a plateau in the midst of the hills, on which were encamped some thousands of people before the monastery of Ravenitza. The building stood up, massive and white, as if built of marble. The people were mostly asleep, but here and there was a minstrel playing or singing,—here and there some busy cook was preparing for the feast of the morrow. We slept in the monastery. Next day before sunrise the bells were ringing out, and the people crowding into church for the service. I was too late for the liturgy, but found a number of children being baptised. The people, I was told, were Wallachians; they were rough in manners, different in dress and tongue from the Servians, and by their rudeness contrasted unpleasantly with the reverence I had seen exhibited at service in the Cathedral at Belgrade. Probably this was partly due to the fact that the baptismal service must be strange and in great part unintelligible to uneducated persons, whereas the liturgy, from its frequent recurrence, and the explanation of it given to them as children, seems plain and straightforward. Wallachians, however, living under the Turkish rule must undoubtedly be without the religious teaching that the Servians get.

After the services were over, and whilst we were breakfasting in a gallery of the monastery, we looked down on a scene such as I never witnessed before or since. The people were dancing on the green below,—the simplest of measures to the simplest of tunes. Holding each other by the hand or the *kamarband*, they formed a large circle. The piper in the middle piped a tune of *three* notes, which gave the time, and peasant and soldier, Servian and Wallachian, men and women, all danced their simple step with that charming grace which belongs to an active people unspoilt by conventionality. The dance went on for hours. When any one was tired, he fell out, and when he pleased he came in again. The great variety and the picturesqueness of the dress, added to the charm of the scene. It was all so easy and free, yet no license, no vulgarity, no intemperance.

Another great feast, which occurred when we were at Belgrade, was the Feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord. This is kept in Servia as a feast of first fruits, something equivalent to our Harvest Thanksgiving, now so generally observed at home.

Enormous dishes of grapes, and bread made of new corn, were brought as offerings, and after service distributed among the people. The service was of course the Liturgy. There were numbers of communicants, from the highest to the lowest, and from elderly men to babes in arms. The priest, standing on the sanctuary step, held the chalice in his hand, in which particles of the consecrated bread were immersed. The deacon stood by his side with a beautiful and rich cloth. The communicants passed in turn before the priest, who gave them the blessed sacrament, in both kinds at the same time, by means of a spoon, the deacon holding the cloth so as to prevent any accidental spilling of the sacrament on the ground.

The cathedral is a new building; so are all the churches in Servia, with the exception of the few ancient monasteries already mentioned. I was surprised to see what fine, solid, costly, stone churches had been built, and were being built, in comparatively small places. The architecture is of course always Byzantine. The Book of the Gospels, which is generally the richest ornament in the church, and always lies on the altar, often comes from Russia, as I believe the pictures and vestments also do.

The clergy are a fine-looking set of men, and are apparently much esteemed. According to the Eastern rule they are all of necessity married, except those who live in monasteries, and from these the Bishops are chosen. The Bishop of Schabatz, whom we visited, was evidently one of *the advanced school*. He was the only preacher whom we heard of, and was evidently very much loved and respected.

There is a theological seminary at Belgrade, and I saw a good deal of some of the professors, who belong to the monastic clergy. I stayed with them for some time in the seminary, but, as it was vacation time, I did not see the students. There was, of course, none of the intellectual restlessness of the universities of the West, but my friends seemed to understand their own religion, and to take an interest in learning something about the Church of England. The cost of a student is about £8 per annum and the course of study is as follows:—

First year.—Ecclesiastical Slavonic (an old form of the language in which the services are said, and which in its elements is taught to all children in the national schools), History, Rhetoric, Russian language.

Second year.—Dogmatic Theology, Servian History, Physical Science, Rhetoric, Russian language.

Third year.—Dogmatic Theology, Old Testament, Liturgical Theology, Homiletics, Canon Law, Hermeneutics.

Fourth year.—Pastoral Theology, Moral Theology, New Testament, Canon Law, Hermeneutics.

What is really contained under these grand headings, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding the rhetoric, homiletics, and hermeneutics, I never heard, as I said, of any preacher but the Bishop of Schabatz.

In a country where dissent is unknown, and religion is most closely allied with patriotism, there is of course no shyness about the performance of religious duties or the introduction of religious topics, because there is no fear of exciting ridicule or giving offence. At a large dinner, at which we were present, religious chants and hymns were interspersed with drinking of healths, and making speeches.

Though there is so universal an adherence amongst the Servians to the "Holy orthodox Church," they are more than tolerant of other forms of Christianity. For the English Church they have a warm sympathy, and a genuine respect. The Lutheran pastor, who resides at Belgrade to minister to the few Germans who have settled in the country, receives, I believe, some annual grant from the Government. At a service of his, which I attended, in one of the cities, several Servian clergy were also present. It was the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the Lutheran rite, and, as a token of sympathy, the Servian clergy lent him the Cross and candlesticks from the altar of their own church to adorn the temporary altar which he had fitted up in a room in the house of one of his congregation.

When my companions were about to leave Servia and return to England, I determined to stay behind for a time alone. I am glad that I did so, for it gave me great additional insight into the country. Though their hospitality was not at an end, for my friends still entertained me as a guest, yet, the feasting being over, I was able better to see and understand the quiet every-day life of Servia. I stayed in the theological college with the professors, one of whom has since, I believe, become a Bishop. It was holiday time, and we chatted and smoked a great part of the day; I, like an Englishman, wanting to know and understand everything, and they, proud of their country and their church, not backward to explain. The want of a common tongue was of course a considerable impediment. However, Latin was the vehicle of our conversation; and, though I had never spoken it before, I found it by no means difficult, and so expressive, that it seemed a pity it was not, as in former days, a *lingua franca* for the educated of all Christendom. In Hungary it is still a living language, and there, if I remember right, my friends had studied.

The heat was so great that during the middle of the day the houses were closed as in India. In the winter, however, the cold is equally intense, the rivers being frozen over for a long time. Hence the houses are built with double windows, and a large stove

is a conspicuous part of the furniture. Our meals were two, *viz.*, at noon, and at 8 P.M. A very tiny cup of coffee without sugar, milk, or anything to eat with it, was served in the morning.

Servia, as a country, emphatically belongs to the East. The pushing commerce, the strife of intellect, the ardent pursuit of science, the unending thirst for novelty and amusement, the boundless speculation, the teeming printing presses, which characterise Western life, are not to be found there. But justice, order, education, a love of propriety and dignity, the social and family virtues, are all to be seen in sufficient fulness to make the nation great and prosperous. Christian and brotherly feeling is there to knit together the different elements of society, as well as a sense of freedom and independence which is a guarantee of the future liberties of the people. As I look back upon Servia, I can no more imagine it again submitting to the yoke of the Turks, than I can imagine Devonshire and Cornwall, though they were transplanted into the middle of the Turkish Empire, ever submitting to a Mahomedan rule. The hands of the world's clock cannot be put backward, and when once a nation has learnt what that true political liberty is which Christianity has both introduced and matured, it is impossible again to subject it to the yoke of a despotism which belongs to the age of darkness, and remains on in Europe only as an anachronism, an historical lesson, and scandal.

ART. V.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ARYAS.

1. *Avadi.* By Tekchand Thackoor. Post 8vo. Calcutta : 1871.
2. *A Treatise on the Yogi Philosophy.* By N. C. Paul. Benares : 1851.

IN the Rig-Veda, *atma* (soul) was used for breath and sometimes for the animating principle. The word *manas* (mind) was used for the soul, subsequently *atma* stood for the soul and *manas* for the mind. The Katha Upanishad says, "The mind is higher than the senses, the intellect is higher than the mind, the great soul is higher than the intellect." The Bhagavat-Gîta holds that the soul is so distinct that the mind cannot even know it. The Nyaya and Vaisheshic (two schools of philosophy) consider the mind "an organ of perception which effects the apprehension of pain, pleasure or interior sensation." Vedantism looks upon mind as an instrument of the soul. Manu speaking of creation says, "God produced the great principle of the soul, or first explanation of the Divine idea," before—"consciousness the internal monitor, and mind the reasoning power." Sreemut Bhagbut (V) calls mind the cause of grief, sickness, affliction, delusion, greed, anger and enmity. In the Mahabharat (Muckadhurma), mind is said to be the organ of the senses and passions, and in the Santi Purva the soul is described as higher than the mind; but nothing is higher than the soul. Yogi Vasistha says that the mind has no form, it merely desires and appears in various forms. It approaches the realm of the soul as it is free from desire. The Sanhya Karika testifies to the subordinate position of the mind, "As the headman of the village collects the taxes from the villagers and pays them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister views it for the use of the king; so mind, having ideas from the external organs, transfers them to *egotism*, and *egotism* delivers them to intellect, which is the general superintendent and takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign soul"

Plato thought that "soul and mind are one and indivisible." Sir William Hamilton says, "the word mind is of a more limited signification than the word soul. In the Greek philosophy the term soul comprehends besides the sensitive and rational principles in man, the principles of organic life, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and in Christian theology it is likewise used in contrast to spirit in a vague and more extensive signification." Bacon thought that the mind referred to the Deity, and the soul to the body.* Mind has thus been the subject of study in Europe.

* *Fischer's Bacon.*

Locke was an original thinker, but in taking up the subject of the soul, he thought that it might be *material*. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we had idealism advocated by Malebranche, Spinoza and Leibnitz, and sensationalism by Locke, Hume, and Condillac; till we had Kant as an advocate of *a priori* intuitions, and he was followed by Hegel and Schelling. Buckle divides the metaphysicians into sensationalists and idealists, who arrive at different conclusions; and he says "the resources of metaphysics are evidently exhausted." The writings of some of the foreign metaphysicians are characterised by transcendentalism which remind us of the Arya train of thought. Franklin thought that "mind would one day become omnipotent over matter." Carlyle says the "word soul, as with us in some Slavonic dialects, seems to be synonymous with *stomach*. We plead and speak in our parliaments and elsewhere as not from the soul but from the stomach, wherefore our pleadings are so slow to profit." Lord Lytton bears his testimony to the stagnation of metaphysics—"England has not advanced since the days of Locke, and he said that soul may be material and that, by revelation only, we can know that it is not so."

The distinction which the Aryas* made between the mind and soul is noteworthy, as it forms the basis of their psychology. They did not proceed to examine the phenomena of the mind, and classify the results of their observations as an empirical science; but they always tried to dive deep by abstract meditation.

Originally there was no caste among the Aryas. Settled in the Punjab with fire burning in every house for worship three times a day, they were intensely contemplative. In the Rig-Veda we find that they thought of "one deity, great soul (*maha atma*);" they chanted "whoever knows Brahma, who is existence, knowledge and infinity, as dwelling within the cavity (of the heart), in the infinite ether, enjoys all desires at once with the Brahma," and "let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler (Savitri); may it guide our intellect." God is described as "the father of all the gods—Lord of creation and Lord of all prayer." The Aryas were theists. The change in the name of the God signified nothing; "that which is ever, the wise call many ways, they call it Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, the winged heavenly Garamut." Dr. Muir says that in the Rig-Veda, Indra is spoken of as a father and the most fatherly of fathers, and as being both a father and a mother; he is the helper of the poor and the lover of mortals.

The ethical view of God subsequently culminated in a spiritual conception. In the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad of the Rig-Veda we find as follows:—"Adore as Brahma the spirit who abides in the soul (in self)." As the conception of God became spiritual, prayers ceased to be mundane.

* The "nobles"—Indian Aryans.

Katha says "the thoughtful knowing what is eternal do not pray for anything mundane." In Sreemut Bhagavat (Book IX) there is an extraordinary prayer attributed to Rantideva.

"Before God I do not pray for transcendental powers or *mukti*. My prayer is that I may really be possessed of the suffering of all, that they may be free from it."

The constant devotion of Arya thought to the Deity promoted spiritual culture; and the soul, often touched, presented to many a Rishi psychological revelations which not only prevented the growth of materialism and sensualism, but opened a vast field of idealism and spiritualism. Max Müller has observed that the Aryas are the most spiritual of races. This remark is just, so far that the literature of no other nation shows so much devotion to God when the Rig-Veda and Upanishads were composed. The study of God naturally opened up the study of the soul. The conception of the soul was in the beginning nebulous, but it gradually cleared up and assumed consistency. In the Rig-Veda there are hymns which refer to "suns in heaven, Vishnu's beloved abode where men devoted to God rejoice." The belief was that there were two paths to the celestial world, one for the gods and one for the *pitris*. Yama is the first person who was admitted into the celestial world. Now let us see what was thought regarding the soul. According to the Satapa Brahmana, a man has three births, *viz.*, from his parents, from sacrifice, and after death and cremation. There is a hymn which says "the perfect men, great sages, cast off their old bodies and ascend in new ones of splendour like the sun and in chariots of fire." Again the spirit leaves here all the imperfections, and being "united with a lustre like that of the gods, soars in a car or on wings to the eternal realms of light; recovers there its ancient body in a complete and glorified form; meets with the forefathers living in festivity with Yama, obtains a delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life."

The Atharva-Veda speaking of heaven describes it as the scene of "perpetual life and glory." The idea was that the heaven was composed of spheres, as the same work says that "in the third heaven which is luminous, action is unrestricted—there are joys and delights, pleasures and gratifications of desire," and holds out the hope of the re-establishment of domestic and social relations in the world to come. The Bhagavat-Gîta says "they proceed unbewildered to that imperishable place which is not illuminated by the sun or moon, to that primeval spirit whence the spirit of life for ever flows." The Rig-Veda enunciated the immortality of the soul. The Artharva-Veda took a psychological view of the soul which is "calm, undecaying, young, free from desires, immortal, self-existent, with the essence, satisfied,

deficient in nothing." This idea was subsequently worked out and elaborated in the Upanishads and Darsanas.

The three births above alluded to, are, the natural birth, the regenerated birth, and the spiritual birth. The conviction as to the immortality of the soul was so strong that it gave rise to *shraddhs* or offering funeral cakes to the souls of the deceased, which is considered not only a sacred duty on the part of every Hindu, but a condition of inheritance. In the offer of funeral cakes, there is a spirit of charity for the souls of the unfortunate:—"May those who have no mother or kinsman, no food or supply of nourishment, be contented with this food offered on the ground and attain like it a happy abode." During the Vedic times, in the address to Agni (god of fire), it was said "Do not, Agni! burn up or consume him (the deceased); as for his unborn, do thou (Agni) kindle it with thy heat." The unborn was distinct from the immaterial soul, and meant "the unborn sempiternal nature."

The doctrine of transmigration was foreign to the Rig-Veda. It was a belief of subsequent growth, but was held as a purificatory process, but not eternal. Menu alludes to the restoration of the wicked (xii 22), and Yagnawabya speaks of their "original better station." In subsequent times the conviction was strong that those who attained divine knowledge avoided the penance of transmigration. We do not find mention of hell, even when transmigration was not thought of. In some of the Upanishads a dark region is mentioned for the wicked, which the Puranas afterwards converted into a place of torment and too hot for the sinners. The Kaustiki Upanishad mentions the ascension of a good man to Brahma's world. When the soul knows divine knowledge, it is said "this my world is thine." During the Rig-Veda period, invocations were made to the *pitris* or spirits of deceased ancestors occupying "three stages of blessedness." The Atharva-Veda says "may the soul go to its own kindred and hasten to the father." The destiny of the spirits is evident from the Vaj Sauk. "May these *pitris*, innocuous and versed in righteousness who have attained to (higher) life (*Asa*), protect us in the sacrifices." The Satapa Brahmana also throws light on the same point. "The abode of Brahma is the pure eternal light, the highest sphere of Vishnu, who is regarded as the Supreme Brahma. There are the unselfish, the humble, those who are indifferent to pain and pleasure, those whose senses are under restraint, and those who practise contemplation and fix their minds on the Deity."

The Rig-Veda chanters did not think that the soul after death was in a state of inactivity. Its mission was to "protect the good, to attend the gods, and to be like them." "On the paths

of fathers there are eight and eighty thousand patriarchal men who turn back to the earthly life to sow righteousness and to succour it." Again a soul after death was "guided by spirits of the intermediate stations in the divine realm which it has to pass over." It is thus evident that India was the cradle of spiritualism—the land where a deep conviction was entertained of the immortality of the soul—of its returning to earth "to sow righteousness and succour it", and of its endless progression in the spiritual world. We have already alluded to the form of the soul after death and ascension. The original idea was that the highest reward for good deeds was the re-creation of the soul with the entire body. It is this belief which gave rise to the practice of collecting bones after cremation. In later ages when nature and soul were closely studied, there was a change in the idea as to the composition of the soul. Every human being has three bodies, gross, *lingua* or *sukkma* (subtle), and *karana*. According to the Vedantic philosophy, the human soul consists of five sheaths, *viz.*, the nutritious, vital, mental, intellectual and blissful. The last three sheaths constitute the *lingua* or *sukkma sarira*, and if the soul can be abstracted from the gross to the subtle or *lingua sarira*, it rises from the natural to what the spiritualists call "superior condition" or to the soul life. The *lingua sarira*, whether embodied or disembodied, lasts till *Nirvan* or *bedehe mukti*, *mokha* or pure spirituality is attained. Spirituality does not refer to a more disembodied state, but one based on divine knowledge being the very life of it. Spiritual state is progressive and may be attained here to a great extent. When the soul from the *lingua* rises to the *karana*, its attenuation is higher, inasmuch as it develops itself in higher spiritual consciousness. The soul so elevated reaches the blissful state—a state which converts the finite into infinitude—the phenomenal into real. There is no difference between the blissful state and profound sleep, as in both these conditions the soul is free from all sensuous restraints, and is in its natural elasticity and freedom. Marcus Antoninus is said to have received "many admonitions from the gods in his sleep." We shall dwell on the point again.

We are not aware that there is another nation which has made such a marked distinction between *mind* and *soul*. The former in one sense is a product of *pracriti* (creation), and in another sense is the sentient soul which can reach only the horizon of finitude. When the soul is free from the action of the senses, it reveals truths in dreams, presentiments, and second sight. In this way the mathematician's solution of the problem, the lawyer's lucid statement,* and many somnambule and clairvoyant phenomena may be explained.

* Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*.

Valmiki, in the Ramayan, sang as follows :—

Fine are the laws which guide the good,
Abstruse and hardly understood ;
Only the soul enthroned within the breast of each knows right.

CANTO XVII.

The Bhagbut-gîta, a Vedantic work, says "Itself exempt from every organ, it is the reflected light of every faculty of the organs. Unattached, it containeth all things, and without quality it partaketh of every quality." In the tenth book of the Sreemut Bhagbut, Krishna, in his lecture to his kinsman Uddhava, says : "Know, what is acquired by mind, speech, eye, ear, in this world is full of *mind*, and being delusively gained is not lasting. The knowledge acquired through intellect is likewise not free from the like imperfections."

It is noteworthy that the Arya and Hellenic ideas on some points bear close affinity. The Vedantism is an emanative doctrine, which not only took a deep root in India, but extended itself to other parts of the world. Socrates thought that the human soul was "allied to the Divine Being, not by participation of essence, but by similarity of nature." Like some of the Upanishads he held that the highest science was the knowledge of God—"that every thought of man must have its root in the knowledge of itself and the Deity." The Aryas called this science *para-vidya*—all other knowledge being inferior. Plato thought, like his master, whose love of spiritualism was so great that he was prepared to get rid of his body, that "the ethereal substance of the soul may be left to its free expansion and fellowship with the intelligent world, apart from sense and its solicitations." Plato also looked upon "visible things as fleeting shadows and ideas as the only permanent substances." Plato's division of the soul was tripartite though in the Phæda it is held to be one. The divisions are *rational* or *intellectual*, *passionate*, and *appetitive*. The Vedantists looked upon soul as God. Plato considered it an emanation from Demiurgus, the cosmical soul, the Hiranagarvya of the Aryas. Like the Hindu sages, Socrates and Plato were convinced that, those who by philosophy detached soul from body, were saved after death the pang of embodiment and lived in the different world amidst "eternal ideas, essences and truth." Aristotle also, like the Vedantists, divided the faculties of the soul into nutritive, sentient, phantastic and nôetic (cogitant and intelligent), each higher, possessing the powers of the lower. The nôetic, or cogitant soul, is the highest, and he agreed with Plato that it was superinduced from the cosmical soul. Pythagoras inculcated that God pervaded "all nature of which every human soul was a portion." The Stoics looked upon the human soul "as a portion of the divinity, and that the truly wise felt no pain

or pleasure." The Egyptian theory of the soul resembles the Indian. The soul as a portion of the universal mind returns to it, the wicked undergoing purgation in other bodies. The Persians believed that the "human soul is a portion of the divine light, which will return to its sources and partake of its universality." The Sufees were Vedantists to the backbone. Marcus Antoninus says: "Pay the greatest reverence to that which is most excellent, which is that faculty the most nearly allied to the Deity." The doctrines of the New Platonists were tinged with Vedantism. Paul was thoroughly Vedantic in his teaching—"In him we live, move and have our being." Early Christian writers make soul intermediate between flesh and spirit, and it is elevated as it follows the spirit which reminds one of the teaching of the Katha Upanishad. Man is elevated if he follows the spiritual element and degraded if carnality be its guide. Sir W. Jones says: "I can venture to affirm without venturing to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the Vedas and even in the works of the Sufee." The following passage in Hume bears resemblance to Vedantism: "The divinity is a boundless ocean of bliss and glory; human minds are smaller streams, which arising at first from the ocean, seek still amid their wanderings to return to it, and lose themselves in that immensity and perfection." Fichte appears to think in the same way. He says, "that the real spirit which comes to itself in human consciousness is to be regarded as an impersonal pneuma—universal reason nay as the spirit of God himself; and that the good of man's whole development therefore can be no other than to substitute the universal for the individual consciousness." The Vedantism holds that transmigration is a purificatory process in view to reunion with God in whom all souls must be ultimately absorbed. To avoid the pang of transmigration devout exercise is inculcated, as by this means "past sin is annulled and future precluded." The devout exercises are said to give the soul great will power, which enables it to invoke the spirits of its ancestors and perform miracles. The liberation of the soul or *mukti*, *moksha*, *nehreyasa*, or *nirvan*, means not physical deliverance from body, but through a perfect knowledge of Brahma, a consequent identification with divinity and absorption into his essence. Cicero says "all souls are undying, but those of the best men are divine." Colonel Vans Kennedy expresses his opinion that "the Vedanta is the most spiritual system that was ever imagined by man."

The Vaiseshika disagrees with the Vedanta as to the absorption of the human soul in God, the two being dissimilar; but when the soul is beheld separate from the body, true knowledge is gained.

The Naya holds that "the soul is entirely distinct from the body; it is infinite in its principle, and while it is infinite in its principle, it is a special substance different in each individual; it has special attributes, as knowledge, will, desire; attributes which are not alike in all the substances, and which constitute a special existence for the being who experiences them."

The Sankhya is latitudinarian. It agrees with the Vedanta and Nyaya in the eternity of the soul, but is emphatic in maintaining that it is individual, free, and lives and progresses by itself. It is, however, distinct from matter, nor is it affected by the three qualities of creation, *viz.*, goodness, passion and darkness.

The Sankhya inculcates that the soul has the following powers: shrinking into a minute bulk to which everything is pervious; enlarging to a gigantic body,* assuming levity (rising along a sunbeam to the solar orb); possessing an unlimited reach of organs as touching the moon with the tips of a finger; irresistible will (for instance sinking into the earth as easily as in water); dominion over all things, animate or inanimate, faculty of changing the course of nature, ability to accomplish every desire.

The powers are called, 1, Anima; 2, Mahima; 3, Laghima; 4, Garima; 5, Prapti; 6, Prakamya; 7, Vāsita; 8, Isitwa or divine power. The first four powers relate to the body and motion. The fifth predicting future events, understanding unknown languages, curing diseases, divining unimpressed thoughts, understanding the language of the heart. The sixth is the power of converting old age into youth. The seventh is the power of mesmerizing human beings and beasts and making them obedient; it is the power of restraining passions and emotions. The eighth power is the spiritual state, and pre-supposes the absence of the above seven powers, as in this state the Yogi is full of God.

We thus see that mesmerism, electro-biology, or magnetism, was not unknown to the Aryas; the art of *basikurun* or taking possession of one's will, was practised in early times. We have already stated that the Pracriti is the equipoise of three qualities, goodness, passion, and darkness, which reach the mind or the sentient soul, but not the soul itself, when it is free from sensuousness. While Vedantism holds that the soul is a spark from God and returns to it, the other schools while agreeing to its being a subjective reality, maintain that the soul is manifold. All the schools, however, aim at the emancipation of the soul from bondage. This bondage is Pracriti † according to

* See report of the London Dialectic Society, p. 119.

† The Pracriti is Mahat, Budhi or Mind, Ahankara, (self-consciousness) subtle rudiments, (sound, touch, smell, form and taste)—These

principles produce five organs of sensation, five organs of action and five gross elements—subtle rudiments mean the efficient and vital causes, which may be electricity and magnetism.

Sankya and Avidya, or Maya, according to Vedanta; but both are *non-intelligent* in contradistinction to the soul which is *intelligent*. The hindrances to the emancipation of the soul are of three kinds, *viz.*, 1, proceeding from self; 2, from external causes; 3, from the agency of superior beings or fortuitous causes. In reality the soul is not in bondage which applies to its organ the mind, but when the bondage ceases, the soul's natural freedom appears. To counteract the influence of these causes and evoke the evolution of the soul, both the Vedanta and Sankhya recommended devout contemplation which led to the formation of the Yoge philosophy which Kapila initiated, and Patunjai elaborated. He recommends that the best means for preventing the modifications or altered states is *exercise* and *dispassion*, *i.e.*, continued concentration and calmness which settle the mind into the soul. By calmness is meant the abandonment of all desire, except for spiritual advancement. Concentration means meditation, which is of two kinds, *viz.*, with an object and without an object. The former has four stages, *viz.*, argumentation, deliberation, beatitude and egotism, which denote progressive disengagement of thought from matter. The last stage is called egotistical, because it is more subjective. The meditation which is without an object is self-producing and independent of experience or observation without. Its scope is infinite and merges in God, He being infinite in wisdom. In the meditation with an object, there is a tinging of the subjective and objective; and the knowledge so acquired, is argumentative or mixed object of thought. The meditation without an object is non-argumentative, as it consists of nothing but clear knowledge of the actual thing thought upon. This theory is like Fichtes' idealism, which identifies the object with the subject. Sreemut Bhagbut (Book IV) states that Dhruba's contemplation ended in the annihilation of the distinction between the thinker and the object thought upon, and thus enabled him to find in the blissful sheath the blissful God. During meditation without an object the soul is marked and active in its operations. It imparts wisdom or pure knowledge, by which minute things hidden or very far off are observed. The visual—the phenomenal—the mundane, are observed in the seer—the soul self-producing and self-knowing in calm repose without the intervention of successive stages—in thorough subjectivity and isolation. The stages of the disengagement of the soul from matter are: 1, Samadhi or union between subject and object; 2, exercise of transcendental powers; 3, Caibalya or isolation. The transcendental powers acquired by Yogis have been exemplified by burying fakirs, vouched for by English witnesses. It is also stated that Colonel Townsend "could die or expire when he pleased; yet by an effort or somehow he could come to life again." There appears to be an

affinity between Yogi and the modern spiritualism, both aiming at the "superior condition" or supersensuous state. There are several stages in the Yog as in the spiritualism. *Pranayama* approaches reverie or abstraction. *Pratyahara* is the suspension of the senses and leads to *dharana* or state of abstraction from breath, mind, and natural wants and tranquillity from all sensual disturbances. It is the somnambulistic state. The next state is *dhyna* or intense contemplation, which is the clairvoyant state. Samadhi is the last state which is "the superior condition" or spiritual state; in which state the Yogi is insensible to, and free from all mundane and mental influence and intently occupied without any efforts with ideas of the Great Soul. Dr. Carpenter* states that "this condition of self-induced suspension of vital activity forms, as it were, the climax of a whole series of states, with two of which I was myself very familiar—"Electrobiology" or artificial reveries and "hypnotism" or artificial somnambulism—both of them admirably studied by Mr. Braid, through whose kindness I had many opportunities of investigating their phenomena."

As long as the distinction between mind and soul, or the sensuous and supersensuous soul was not understood, the Aryas laid stress on the sacrifices, different kinds of religious observances, self-mortifications, self-tortures, self-immolations, but the close investigation of physiology resulted in the crystalization of one thought—that in proportion as we succeeded in disengaging our souls from sensuousness, we had purer ideas of God and of our duties to Him and to ourselves—that our real heaven was not a heaven of locality, but a superior state in us, which was susceptible of gradual expansion as the emancipation of our soul progressed. The Rev. A. D. Griffith in his essay in the *Bhagbut-gita* says; "We are not to be suspected of Hindu austerities; we simply state that the Yoge doctrine is founded upon a deep acquaintance with the human constitution and its wants." It appears that the ideas of the Aryas were not confined to India. "It is perfectly evident to me" said Socrates in his last moments "that to see clearly we must detach ourselves from the body and perceive by the soul alive, not whilst we live, but when we die, will that wisdom, which we desire and love, be first revealed to us; it must be then or never that we shall attain to true understanding and knowledge; since by means of the body we never can. But if, during life, we would make the nearest approaches possible to its possession, it must be by divorcing ourselves as much as in us lies from the flesh and its nature."

Plato in the *Phæda* says, "The soul reasons most effectually when none of the corporeal senses harass it; neither hearing, sight,

* *Contemporary Review* for December 1873.

pain, or pleasure of any kind, but it retires as much as possible within itself and aims at the knowledge of what is real, taking leave of the body ; and, as far as it can, abstaining from any union or participation with it." Mosheim (vol. I, 398) says, that "In order to the attainment of true felicity and communion with God, it was necessary that the soul should be separated from the body even here below, and that the body was to be macerated and mortified for that purpose."

In the Brihad Aronayia, Matraya asks her husband Yajnuawalkya to instruct her in the knowledge by which final beatitude may be attained. The learned husband says, "abstraction procures immortality and leads to the knowledge of the Supreme God." Another Vedic teaching is, "seek the knowledge by devout meditation." The Sankhya divides the whole world into soul and non-soul or *Pracriti*, and that we cannot know what soul is unless we become ourselves soul, i.e., raise the natural to spiritual consciousness. Concentration refers to the mind or sentient soul as it is a mere matter of attention fixed upon a particular object, but abstraction means the separation of the thinking from the sentient soul ; and, in proportion as this abstraction could be achieved, it led to real superiority.

It will appear from the foregoing pages that that the Aryas did not accept the knowledge as chief knowledge or *para vidya* derivable from *empiricism*. No writings revealed or sacred were allowed to be so authoritative and final as the teaching of the soul. Some of the Rishis appear to have laid the greatest stress on this supersensuous source of knowledge. In the Chhandagya Upanishad, Narada is reported to have gone to Sanat Kumara for instruction, and was asked to state what he had learnt. Narada said, "I am instructed, venerable sage, in the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva (which is) the fourth, the Itihasas and Puranas (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the Pitris, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the Gods, the knowledge of scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents and deities ; this is what I have studied. I, venerable man, know only the hymns (*mantras*), while I am ignorant of soul." Sanat Kumara replied, "that which thou has studied is nothing but name."

It appears that Bacon in this study of the mind dived deeper : He says, "the mind, abstracted or collected itself and not diffused in the organs of the body, has, from the natural power of its own essence, some foreknowledge of future things ; and this appears chiefly in sleep, ecstasies, and the near approach of death." The love of physicism and *empiricism* has exercised some influence on the freedom of thought and enquiry and may have extended the domain of scepticism more than that of truth ; still we find

eminent enquirers making admissions not quite in accordance with the general tenor of their writings. Tyndall (*Fragments of Science*) says. "It was found that the mind of man has the power of penetrating far beyond the boundaries of his free senses ; that the things which are seen in the material world depend for their action upon things unseen ; in short, that besides the phenomena which address the senses, there are laws and principles and processes which do not address the senses at all, but which need be and can be spiritually discerned." Sir W. Hamilton, who is entirely for all knowledge being in relation with our faculties which are finite, and we are therefore unable to know what is infinite or absolute, says, "the infinitely greater part of our spiritual nature, lies always beyond the sphere of our own consciousness, hid in the obscure recesses of the mind."* Sir William endorses the truthfulness of the Arya theory of the somnambulistic state. "In this singular state," says he, "a person performs a regular series of rational actions, and those frequently of the most difficult and delicate nature, and what is still more marvellous, with a talent to which he could make no pretension when awake. His memory and reminiscence supply him with recollections of words and things, which perhaps were never at his disposal in the ordinary state ; he speaks more fluently a more refined language ; and if we are to credit what the evidence on which it rests hardly allows us to disbelieve, he has not only perceptions through other channels than the common organs of sense, but the sphere of his cognitions is amplified to an extent far beyond the limits to which sensible perception is confined."

A theory is being maintained that dreams involving "revelations of all secrets and predictions" as well as intellectual problems are owing to unconscious cerebration. It is difficult to establish this theory as it cannot cover all classes of dreams. Latent thought thrown into activity may be from past experience or from matters relating to itself. How could Cazote predict the horrors of the French Revolution? Dr. Moore says "that the brain itself does not think, and what is called unconscious cerebration is really work carried on by the soul during sleep and remembered when awake."

The Aryas having larger acquaintance with the soul aimed at "knowledge beyond relation of subject and object, objectless intelligence, self-luminous, illuminating or manifesting."

Let us see what are these internal states for the reception of pure and true knowledge.

Katha says,— "The state which ensues when the five organs of

* *Contemporary Review* for May 1871, p. 209.

knowledge remain (alone) with the mind and the intellect does not strive, is called the highest aim."

Prasana says.—"When he becomes overwhelmed with light, then that good (the mind) does not see the dream; at that time rises that happiness (of deep sleep in the body.)"

The note explains, that, during this state impression ceases when the soul state begins; or in other words if we are not unimpressional and tranquil, we are not free from the bondage of the senses and in a state to know what is true. It is therefore clear that empiricism or sensuous experience was not thought the correct source of knowledge.

Another note is "because the gate of seeing is closed by splendour, there is no special thought, or because all has become one and the same thinking, no special thought is perceived, this answers that state which is called profound sleep."

Mandakya.—Divides the soul into four natural states. It is by *Yoge* or will force that some of these states are superinduced:—

I.—Waking state, called *Vaiswanara*, enjoying gross objects.

II.—Dreaming state, called *Taijasa*, enjoying subtile objects.

III.—Profound sleep—no desire, no dream, knowledge uniform—enjoying bliss and knowledge. *Somnambulance* and *clairvoyance* come under this state.

IV.—Knowledge not external, nor internal, nor both. Consciousness of soul in which all the spheres have ceased—i.e., spiritual state, enjoying pure intelligence.

The Brihad Aranyaka says.—"The highest place, the highest state of the soul, is where it exists, as the soul in its own inherent state." The soul contains within itself the true heaven which the *Chhandogya* supports.—"He who knows it (soul) daily retires to the region of *Surga* (heaven) in his own heart." *Talavakara* says, "Know that which does not think by the mind, and by which the mind, is thought."

The psychological teachings of the Aryas may be summed up as follows:—

Every human being has a soul which, while not separable from the brain and nerves, is *mind* or *jivatma* or sentient soul, but when regenerated or spiritualized by *Yoge*, it is free from bondage and manifests the divine essence. It rises above all phenomenal states—joy, sorrow, grief, fear, hope; and in fact, all states resulting in pain or pleasure and becomes *अनन्दमय*, or blissful, realizing immortality, infinitude and felicity of wisdom within itself. The sentient soul is nervous, sensational, emotional, phenomenal and impressional. It constitutes the natural life and is finite. The soul and the non-soul are thus the two land-marks. What is non-soul is *Pracrit*. It is not the lot of every one to know what the soul is; and therefore millions live and die possessing

minds cultivated in intellect and feeling, but not raised to the soul state. In proportion as one's soul is emancipated from Pracrit or sensuous bondage, in that proportion his approximation to the soul state is attained ; and it is this which constitutes disparities in the intellectual, moral and religious culture of human beings, and their consequent approximation to God.

The Aryas did not aim at any creed which must be more or less the product of the finite mind or sentient soul. It is true that creeds of different kinds were the outcome of different ages. But it will be found that they were called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the age, and presented by minds powerful in working upon the people. Whatever may be the merits of the creeds which succeeded each other, the transcendental teaching of the Aryas as to the soul remains undisturbed. They held that, as long as we are impressional, the knowledge we acquire is more or less fallacious. In one of the prayers contained in the Vishnu Purana it is said—“Who as internal intellect, delivers the impressions received by the senses to soul.” The light the Aryas aimed at was not from the senses nor from the mind, but from *within*—the splendour of the soul,—thus ignoring cerebration, empiricism, and agnosticism and anticipating the teaching of the Bible—“*the kingdom of God is within you.*”

The highest form of divine worship is therefore the absorption of the brain-life in the soul-life, as this is the only way to acquire *true knowledge—the para vidya*—the highest wisdom, and realise in the infinite realm of the soul the infinite God and the infinite progression of the disembodied life.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

ART. VI.—TRANS-HIMALAYAN MISSIONS AND THEIR RESULTS.

- 1.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1870.* By Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B. Supplement to *Gazette of India*, January 7th, 1871.
- 2.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T. D. Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.* Foreign Department Press : Calcutta, 1875.
- 3.—*Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. With notes and an Introduction, &c.* By Mr. Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., Geographical Department, India Office. Trübner & Co. : London, 1876.
- 4.—*Narratives, Maps, &c., of Trans-Himalayan Explorers in the Reports of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, 1867-68, 1869-70, 1871-72, 1873-74, 1874-75.*
- 5.—*Geographical Magazine*, June 1876. With a map illustrating Pundit Nain Singh's journey in Tibet in 1874.
- 6.—*Map of Turkestan in four sheets.* Third Edition, June 1875. Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.
- 7.—*Sheet No. 9, of the Trans-Frontier Skeleton maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, showing Nepal, Sikkim, parts of Great Tibet, parts of Bhootan.* Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., November 1873.
- 8.—*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Miller : London, 1811.

THE character of Warren Hastings has suffered from the brilliant essay of Lord Macaulay, so that few think of him except as the instigator of Nuncomar's violent death, the despoiler of Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oudh, and the oppressor of the Rohillas. It is not that the necessary shading is altogether wanting to the picture. There is an occasional reference to good qualities, but in such an apologetic and half-hearted tone as serves only to throw into greater prominence the defects on which the critic has preferred to dwell. Whether from ignorance, too, or from indifference, Lord Macaulay has been silent on matters connected

with the Indian career of the first Governor-General, concerning which if he had sought diligently he might have gained valuable information. . Thus it happens that while he tells in glowing language how, in order to meet the imperious demand of his honourable masters for money, Warren Hastings hired out British soldiers to a native Prince for a campaign which he could neither justify nor control, and how to this illgotten wealth he added by force the treasures of Benares and Fyzabad, he has omitted to notice the facts that, when Warren Hastings had reasonable grounds for pursuing the Bhootanese with vengeance, he listened to the intercession of their Pontiff Suzerain, the Teshu Lama of Tibet, and refrained from further warfare, and that he promptly profited by the opportunity which that potentate's communication afforded him of endeavouring to establish commercial relations, from which he is not the only person who has expected great pecuniary results to follow. That he was mistaken in his estimate of the wealth which was to be derived from Trans-Himalayan countries does not affect the question. After a lapse of nearly a century the mistake has been repeated in regard to Eastern Turkistan, and the assumptions of enthusiastic pioneers of trade have only been disproved at the cost of two expensive missions. What concerns us is that the evidence of Warren Hastings not being always so unprincipled in his financial policy as Lord Macaulay has led his readers to believe, existed at the time when the essay was written; and it is to be regretted that the author thought more of counteracting the effect of Mr. Gleig's partial biography than of extending his own researches so as to do justice to the memory of his subject.

For the historical details that were wanting we are indebted to the industry of Mr. Clements Markham. It had never been forgotten in official circles that Warren Hastings sent an Envoy to Tibet in the person of his friend, Mr. George Bogle of the Bengal Civil Service, for the purpose of developing trade; but only one of his reports has hitherto been found amongst the archives of Government. The coincidence by which the original correspondence is missing in India and the copy in London is to be deplored. Fortunately Mr. Bogle's own papers have been carefully preserved by his family, and from these, which include minutes by Warren Hastings, letters from and to him, reports, journals and the like, a fairly connected narrative has at last been drawn up. The volume which contains it includes, besides, Mr. Manning's account of his visit to Lhasa in 1811-12, extracts from the letters of some of the Roman Catholic priests who penetrated into Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and an introduction, notes and biographical sketches of the two English laymen by Mr. Markham.

Warren Hastings, himself Resident at Moorshedabad at the early age of twenty-four and Governor-General before he was forty, had the rare faculty of discerning talent in others, and surrounded himself with a band of young men whose ability was only equalled by their devotion. Of the number of these was Mr. Bogle, who landed in Calcutta for the first time at the age of twenty-three, and of whom four years later, in 1774, his chief was able, when selecting him as his representative to Tibet, to declare that he was well known for his intelligence and assiduity, and possessed of great coolness and moderation of temper. The sequel justified the choice. Unruffled under circumstances which might have provoked a more experienced diplomatist, displaying much tact and judgment in negotiation, with a winning manner amongst strangers, yet with a firmness which resisted imposition, ever looking on the bright side of things, able in various ways to beguile the monotony of his life beyond the border, with considerable power of observation and with a natural bent for acquiring information, which he has recorded in a fresh and lucid style, he was eminently the man to depute on such a mission. When obstacles were thrown in the way of his onward journey at Tassisudon he insisted on a further reference to the Teshu Lama, and whilst awaiting the reply was careful not to do anything which might compromise his prospects of advancing northwards or to imply that he had any expectation of aught but a favourable answer. The Calmuc pilgrims at Teshu Lumbo were not so dirty but what he enjoyed many a hard-fought game of chess with them. Amid the constant din of cymbals and the beating of drums around his lodgings he taxed his memory and his attention to write for the Teshu Lama a history of contemporary Europe, in which the description of political institutions was diversified with an account of the state of society, its inns and its stage coaches, its highwaymen and its duels. When the Teshu Lama offered to give him a detailed map of Tibet from Ladak to the frontier of China, he had enough self-restraint to decline the prize lest the news of its acceptance should tend to confirm the Lhasa Regent's suspicion that his visit was made with ulterior views of conquest, not trade. Crowds came to see him "as people go to look at the lions in the Tower", and with easy good nature he gratified their curiosity, denying himself to no one. The consequence was a daily succession of callers who added much to his knowledge. He would exchange a pinch of snuff with one, and a joke with another, and pick up a few new words in return. On the road he would amuse himself with throwing stones down the hill side. At another time he would be sliding on the ice, or he would be listening to the chime-like tones of a singer, or watching the wild irregularity of a Tibetan dance. Or he would

get a dirt-begrimed Tibetan to infringe the national custom by washing his face, and would enjoy his confusion amongst his companions afterwards. Nothing seemed to put him out, not even when at a country house his midnight slumber was disturbed by a fight between two of his host's pets, a wolf and a tiger-cat, with a pack of howling dogs as spectators. "Some said it was thieves, but as I could not think anybody would be so wicked as to attempt to rob the Lama's family, I had nothing for it but to conclude it was the devil." His little epigrams and humorous comments on passing events are charming. After the monotony of the priestly society in Tassisudon he comes across a man of real sagacity, whereon he draws the comparison that an ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy. We can fancy him in fits of laughter as Dr. Hamilton in order to illustrate the power of his microscope went to catch a fly, and frightened the Dhurm Raja out of his wits lest he should have killed it. The Deb Raja of Bhootan being human said grace before meals. The Teshu Lama of Tibet was divine, so dispensed with it. The sight of a cleverly-devised churn and straw-cutting machine calls forth the remark: "As I remember what a great discovery the cutting of straw was considered in England, I mention it only to show that nations, under-valued by Europeans, can, without the assistance of Royal Societies, find out the useful arts of life." A religious disputation carried on with much clapping of the hands and shaking of the heads on both sides, was, no doubt, in its gestures, "very improper and ridiculous, because they are quite different from those used by European orators, who are the true standards of what is just and what is graceful." A negligent priest was, by way of punishment, being held down on the ground by four persons whilst a fifth was bastinading him. "Let no one who has been at a public school in Europe cry out against the Tibetans for cruelty." His Persian studies curiously influence his English sometimes, as when he answered the Teshu Lama that he wished to attend his stirrup, and when he describes a fall of snow as six fingers deep.

Mr. Bogle has left valuable testimony of the state of Bhootan and Tibet. In both countries the clerical element is numerous. In Bhootan the priesthood is often the stepping-stone to temporal power. As its members are taken from the people at large and maintain their intercourse with their families, they have an easy means of influencing the country and ensuring its support to their measures. At the head of the Lords Spiritual are the three Lamas, incarnations of the body, heart and mouth of the leader of the Dukpa (Red cap) seceders from Tibet, who conquered the country several centuries ago. These are known as Lama Rimboche, more familiar to English ears under the style of Dhurm Raja, Lama

Shabdong and Lama Giassatu, the Lam-Sebdo and Lam-Geysey of Mr. Davis. In Mr. Bogle's time Lama Shabdong was a minor, and Lama Giassatu was not traceable, his last bodily appearance having ceased twelve years before, and the person into whom his soul had passed not having been discovered. Though nominally supreme in the Government the Lamas, from the fact that their authentication as the true embodiments of holiness and their education depend on the priests, are much under their control. Their former seclusion necessitated the appointment of a temporal deputy, known as Cusho Debo or Deb Raja, who is elected by the Lamas conjointly with the priests, and who is entrusted with the nomination to civil posts, the collection of the revenue, mostly made in kind as till lately was the case in Cashmere, the command of the forces, and the power of life and death. The Deb Raja is liable to be set aside by the clergy, and a case of deposition occurred shortly before Mr. Bogle's mission, in which the Lama Rimboche took a prominent part, and which is curious as having been to some extent a protest against an act of the deposed Deb Raja, implying Chinese suzerainty over Bhootan. As in Burmah, so in Bhootan, there is no hereditary aristocracy, and therefore official rank is the only source of distinction. Next to the Deb Raja are the members of the council, composed of a Chief Judge, a Dewan, two Secretaries and six Provincial Governors, amongst whom are Mr. Eden's old friends the Penlows of Tongso and Paro.

In Tibet the body of the priests have less political power. But their religious chiefs the Dalai and Teshu Lamas of Lhasa and Teshu Lumbo have an infinitely greater and wider reputation, being credited with direct spiritual succession from Adi Buddha himself, whilst the Lamas of Bhootan are no more than the incorporation of a spirit emanating from their terrestrial forms. The Dalai and Teshu Lamas are at the head of the Gelupka (yellow cap) sect, which is in the ascendant in Tibet, and which originated in a protest against magic, clerical marriage and other innovations on pure Buddhism. The bestowal of his title by the Emperor of China is supposed to give the Dalai Lama superiority over the Teshu Lama, but it has happened, as indeed in Mr. Bogle's time, that during a minority of the former the latter has gained pre-eminence, notwithstanding the appointment of a Regent (Gesub Rimboche or Nomen Khan) to watch over the minor's interests. This Regent has at times continued to direct the temporal administration until the Dalai Lama has arrived at a mature age. When the Dalai or Teshu Lama assumed political functions they were called Gyalpo. Early in the eighteenth century the control of foreign relations was usurped by the Chinese Government, which has ever since been represented at Lhasa by its Umbas or Residents. Theoretically the Dalai Lama does not interfere in temporal matters,

so internal affairs are directed by a council of five, of which Gesub Rimboche is the President, and the other members are called Kahlons.

In Bhootan public expenditure is small, the chief demands on the treasury being for the annual tribute, or donation as the Bhootanese prefer to call it, to the Teshu Lama and the maintenance of the clergy. Every man possesses the rude weapons of warfare and must give his services as a soldier, a porter, or in any capacity in which the State may require, and in return he has his plot of lightly-taxed ground. The people are strong and well-built, fairly truthful, unaddicted to crime, and good-humoured. The women bear the brunt of domestic and field work. In Tibet the lot of the women is easier and the respect for them greater. The home Government of Tibet is more centralised than that of Bhootan, the revenue being collected by officers specially deputed from the capital for this purpose, and all orders of importance to local Governors, who are its nominees, emanating from the council. There is a small standing army, supplemented by Chinese troops at Lhasa, and a national militia as in Bhootan, but the more sacred character of the Lamas tends, it is said, to discourage aggressive warfare. In Eastern Turkistan, on the contrary, that which has been won by the sword has to be held by the sword, and centralization is carried to a fault. There every one is subject to the stern will of the present puritan ruler, who, as Vambéry justly remarks, might have been another Zenghis Khan or Tamerlane, but for the accident of having been born in the nineteenth century. His sway is a reaction against the laxity of the Chinese Government which he helped to overthrow. In the days of Chinese supremacy disorder and insecurity were general. Now a man may, to repeat a common saying, drop his whip and return and find it in the same place a year later. Such a change has not been effected without much severity. Executions have been frequent. Espionage is as prevalent as under the Second Empire. Mutilation is a punishment often resorted to. No private person may possess a firearm or a sword without express permission. Ladies of rank, who uncover their faces in the street, run as much risk of the heavy blows from the censor's leathern thong as the commonest brawler or drunkard. The civil administration is exercised through local Governors who receive their orders from the Ameer direct. The army, a mixed force of Andjanis, Kipchaks and Kara Kirghiz, Yarkundis and other men of the Altai Shuhr, Chinese and Tunganis is also under Yacoob Beg's immediate command.*

Books of travel not unfrequently bring to light similarity of

* Vambéry's *Central Asia*. Pages 322-323.

customs in countries which have not always the tie of kinship to account for it. An Englishman's first impulse is to ask a stranger to dinner. The Bhootanese and the Tibetans have the same fashion, and anybody less facile than Mr. Bogle would probably have sought deliverance from the everlasting tea-drinkings, and the repetition of mutton boiled and minced. The people of Eastern Turkistan are equally hospitable, only they invert the European order of the meal, and begin with sweets and dessert and end with soup. The feminine dress of the Shigatze Killedars recalls the ludicrous petticoats of the Sirdars of Jodhpore when *en grande tenue*. The Bhootanese burn their dead like the Hindus, whose healthy example the nations of Europe are too slowly following; the Tibetans as a rule, like the Parsees, expose their corpses. The reason for the difference of practice in nations of the same religion is to be found in the abundance of fuel in the one country and its scarcity in the other. It is against the Gorkhali's creed to execute a Brahmin, against a Buddhist's to execute any man at all. So in Nepal a peccant Brahmin is sent to the Terai and fed on curds and plantains till he sickens with fever and dies, and in Tibet a criminal is shut up and left to die of starvation. You may tell a well-fed Turkoman by his boots, to which he transfers the surplus grease from his fingers after meals. The hill men of Bhootan do not wear boots adapted for this operation, but they are at one with the Turkomans in licking the platter clean. Does this betoken a common origin at some remote era in the Altai Mountains? The lofty palaces of Bhootan and Tibet with their long galleries, their massive beams, their steep and numerous back stairs, no better than the ladder which leads to an English hay loft, and their doors working on pegs cut out of the planks, which are received into two holes top and bottom, and the ordinary stone cottages of Tibet, substantially built so as to keep out the cold, are repeated in Nepal, and so are the mummers with their antics and their visors resembling the heads of wild animals. The peculiar swing and wooden pile bridges, the latter with road-way formed by successive layers of projecting beams, gradually lessening the distance till only an interval remains which planks of ordinary length can span, seem common throughout the Himalaya. In Tibet the iron suspension bridges vie in length, though not in safety, with the more modern constructions of Europe.

The main object of Mr. Bogle's mission was "to open a mutual and equal communication of trade" between Bengal and Tibet, and to this end he was the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General to the Teshu Lama, proposing a general treaty of amity and commerce; he was supplied with samples of such articles as were

likely to be in request in the country whither he was bound, and was ordered to ascertain what other commodities might be profitably added. The cost of transport was to be carefully noted, and he was to make himself acquainted with the extent of the existing trade and with the manufactures and products, specially those of great value and moderate bulk, which could be given in exchange for British goods. The nature of his route and of the intervening region, the means of communication between Lhasa and neighbouring countries, the different forms of government, the revenues and the manners, the customs and the commerce of the inhabitants, were to receive his attention. If he thought fit he was to arrange for the establishment of a Residency at Lhasa, and if he himself had to come away prematurely he was at liberty to leave agents for the temporary conduct of business till a Resident was appointed. Nor were the interests of natural history and geography overlooked. He was to send specimens of the shawl goat and yak, of rare or valuable seeds and plants, and to inform himself concerning the course and navigation of the* Brahmaputra, and of the condition of the countries through which it flows. To these instructions are appended a memorandum in which Warren Hastings embodied what he knew about Tibet, as the best line for guiding his envoy in further enquiries, and which is a creditable contribution to the literature then existing on the subject. The remark as to the similarity in figure of Persians and Tibetans we commend to Mr. Talboys Wheeler's notice as a possible link in the chain of reasoning with which he proposes to establish the fact of an ethnical connection between Mongols and Rajpoots. Thus instructed, and with the necessary passports and credentials, Mr. Bogle, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Hamilton as his medical attendant, left Calcutta in the middle of May 1774, and travelling by way of Moorshedabad, Dinajpore and Cooch Behar, reached Tassisudon, the capital of Bhootan, about a month later. With a keen eye to business even in small matters, Warren Hastings had enjoined him to plant potatoes at each halting place in the hills; and according to Mr. Markham, Pundit Nain Singh more than ninety years later saw the results of this forethought in the potatoe gardens round Lhasa. In Nepal, too, we may remark the tuber is a favourite article of food; and our old friend at the top of the Haymarket has his countertype, with more primitive apparatus, in Katmandoo, just as the itinerant pie-man has in Yarkund. At Tassisudon the jealousy of the Chinese Umbas, to whom an Englishman is the incarnation of aggressiveness, caused a

* We assume on the very ample reasons given by Colonel T. G. Montgomerie that the Brahmaputra has its longest and fullest feeder in the great river of Tibet (Report of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, pages XCI-XCVI.)

delay of four months. The Regent of Lhasa was their creature, and the Teshu Lama was constrained by them on this occasion to write and deter Mr. Bogle from advancing, an act of obstruction which he explained afterwards and made amends for, as far as his own conduct went. The Deb Raja also urged his return, but was induced, though with reluctance, to refer the matter back again to his religious superior. The delay was not compensated for by the acquisition of much knowledge regarding trade. The place was unfavourable to commercial enquiries, being "monkish to the greatest degree." At length the Teshu Lama's permission to enter Tibet was received and Tassisudon left behind on October 13th. Ten days later the party were within the Tibetan border at Pari-jong, a place now more generally shown on the maps as Phari. Here they had struck the table-land of Central Asia of which the Himalaya is the southern wall. From this point their route lay over a treeless, cheerless, almost houseless tract, with a gradual descent, after passing the lakes on which Turner subsequently skated, along the valley of the *Painomchu to the Brahmaputra. Not till they reached the valley of Gyangze, well cultivated and full of the whitened villages which hillmen love, was there any relief to the eye, wearied with the bare aspect of the surrounding mountains and the sterility of the plain. The river at the point where they crossed it in a ferry-boat was so sluggish that they lost but little ground between the two banks. Their journey was then nearly at an end, and on the 8th of November they reached the small palace of Desheripgay, near Namling, where the Teshu Lama had been living for three years past, to avoid a long protracted outbreak of small-pox in his capital of Teshu Lumbo.

At this country retreat Mr. Bogle stayed a month. Whilst there he witnessed some of those ceremonies which irresistibly lead to comparisons between the Buddhism of Tibet and the Roman Catholic religion. The mind reverts to the scene at Saint Peter's on Easter-day, as we read of the Teshu Lama seated under a canopy in the court of the palace and a vast crowd around awaiting his blessing. But there are different degrees of blessedness in Tibet, and the Lama Pontiff is quick at distinguishing the priests and superior laymen on whose heads his hand may rest, the nuns and inferior gentry between whose heads and the sacred palm a cloth must be interposed, and the lower orders for whom a touch with a tassel is enough. As the nuns and some orders of the priesthood dress very much alike, the chance of confusion is increased, but how should an incarnation of divinity make a mistake? The similitude in external forms between the two religions, attributable perhaps to imitation of the practices of the Nestorian

* Sometimes called Penanangchu.

Christians, whose settlements in Central Asia were nearly simultaneous with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, may be further traced in the tonsure, the celibacy of the clergy, and the monastic orders both male and female, the frequent church services, the chanting and intoning, the gorgeous processions, the rite of extreme unction, the prayers for the dead, the mitre* of the Pontiff, the chasubles of the priests, the prostration before the altar, the burning of incense, the rules of discipline and the repetition of litanies "not understood of the people." Doctrinally there is a strong analogy between the system of Buddhist incarnations and the dogma of Apostolic succession. As an instance of what the wit of man can devise, we are inclined to give the preference to the Buddhists' invention, there being to our mind something much higher and purer in the idea of the spirit of a deceased Lama passing without human intervention into the body of a child, than that in which the same result can only be attained by the imposition of hands in the first stage, and by the election of a college of Cardinals in the last. For those who care to consider the analogy further we recommend a comparison of the first five verses of Saint John's Gospel with the Buddhistic account of the manifestation of the word Om.

Early in December 1774, Desheripgay was exchanged for Teshu Lumbo, and there, with the exception of a week's absence on a hunting excursion, Mr. Bogle passed the remaining four months of his sojourn in Tibet. Teshu Lumbo is to the adjacent town of Shigatze what Potala is to Lhasa or the Vatican to Rome. Wisely holding that in the interest of the mission entrusted to him it was his business to conciliate the Teshu Lama, to win his confidence and to gain his consent and support to measures for the development of trade, he made a point of remaining near him. For fear of further misconstruction of his motives at Lhasa he would not even enter the walls of Shigatze. His self-denial was rewarded by frequent intercourse with the Teshu Lama, soon resulting in mutual regard and affection. This man remarkable for his liberal and enlarged views, partly by his own force of character and partly owing to the accident of the Dalai Lama's minority, although comparatively young and not without a rival in the person of the Regent, was at this time the object of universal respect in his own country, his blessing was sought by Buddhist followers from remote parts of Mongolia, and he deemed his influence at the Court of China such that he could obtain commercial privileges for the English in Peking. This belief Mr. Bogle shared, though, as it proved in the end, both were too enthusiastic on the subject. In virtue of

* The Deb Raja of Bhootan wears a hat like a Cardinal's.

his spiritual office the Teshu Lama sought to be the peacemaker amongst his turbulent neighbours, of whom the most aggressive was * Singh Pertab, son of Prithi Narain the Gorkhali usurper in Nepal. His generosity to the poor and to strangers was not wholly disinterested, for, in entertaining the Hindoo and Mahomedan mendicants who flocked to his court, he reaped the worldly advantage of satisfying his curiosity regarding foreign countries and of having his praises sung by his guests on their return to their homes, or in their wandering through other lands. From the knowledge of Hindustani which he had acquired from his mother, a lady of Ladak, he was able to converse directly with Mr. Bogle, who was quite the man to appreciate his power of telling a pleasant story with a great deal of humour and action, and his dislike of empty compliments. "Although venerated as God's Viceregent through all the Eastern countries of Asia, endowed with a portion of omniscience, and with many other divine attributes, he throws aside in conversation all the awful part of his character, accommodates himself to the weakness of mortals, endeavours to make himself loved rather than feared, and behaves with the greatest affability to everybody." And again with a quaint antithesis writes Mr. Bogle, "I endeavoured to find out in his character those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him." As Captain Turner laid equal stress on the veneration in which this same Lama was held nine years later, Mr. Bogle may, we think, be acquitted of over-partiality in his portrait.

With many expressions of mutual regret and sorrow Mr. Bogle and the Teshu Lama parted from one another in the first week of April, 1775, and the former quickly regaining the route which he had before traversed found himself again at Tassisudon on May 8th, and after little more than a twelvemonths' absence from British territory he crossed the border into Cooch Behar. We gather that he lost no time in travelling thence to Calcutta so as to communicate personally with the Governor-General, who had already signified thorough approval of his proceedings.

Mr. Manning's narrative suffers by comparison with that of Mr. Bogle. The latter is so genial and accommodating, the former so peevish and so inclined to look on the dark side of things. It is curious that a man of such high education, who had by long residence in Canton been preparing himself to accomplish the dream of his life, should have borne the difficulties of a strange country in so complaining a spirit. As to his grudge

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against the Indian Government for giving him no commission, it may be said that, after the complete failure, in a commercial point of view, of Warren Hastings' overtures, Lord Minto was quite justified in not re-opening negotiations; that the temper of Mr. Manning was not so suave and deliberate as becomes an Envoy, and that even if there had not been these objections, the time was not propitious for another venture. Bhootan rejected friendly intercourse, and Nepal was persevering in that course of aggression which at last brought down retribution on her head. It is much to Mr. Manning's credit that, with small private means and without the official position and credentials which, if they are not essential, do so much to smoothe a traveller's progress in the East, he managed to overcome Chinese exclusiveness and realize his hope of gazing on the face of the Dalai Lama. His journal is specially valuable for its corroboration of Nain Singh's account of that part of the route which they both have traversed, and therefore by implication of the Pundit's accuracy in regard to other parts of Tibet concerning which he is the sole modern authority.

After much inquiry Mr. Bogle came to the conclusion that there was no likelihood of immediately reviving the trade with Tibet through Nepal. He errs sometimes in his references to current events in the latter country, as when he makes Singh Pertab* to have succeeded to the throne in the year which, as a matter of fact, witnessed his death; but any confusion of names and dates does not affect the main difficulty that the country was in such a disturbed state owing to the encroachments of the Gorkhalis as to make it unsafe for merchants, and that there was no prospect of a more peaceful policy being soon adopted. Under these circumstances Mr. Bogle turned his attention to the routes through Bhootan. Here he encountered an obstacle in the fact that the trade in valuable commodities was wholly in the hands of the members of Government. Had the Tibetans not been averse on the score of climate and distance to resort to marts in British territory, and had there been a good understanding between Sikkim and

* The Genealogical Table of the Gorkhali Kings of Nepal, is as follows:—

	A. D.	A. D.
		Rajendra Bikrum 1816-1847.
		(deposed and still alive)
Prithi Narain	1769-1771.	Soorendra Bikrum 1847.
Singh Pertab	1771-1775.	(the reigning Sovereign)
Run Bahadoor	1775-1800 (and a short interval in 1804).	Mr. Markham is wrong in making
Girvan Jodh Bikrum	1800-1816 (with exception of the interval above mentioned).	Girvan Jodh Bikrum to be the son of Singh Pertab, and in omitting all mention of Run Bahadoor. (See his foot note to page 159).

Nepal, an alternative route to the plains of Bengal through Darjeeling might have been adopted. As circumstances then were, there was no option but to make an arrangement by which British and Tibetan dealers could have direct relations with each other at some place in Bhootan, and the consent of the Deb Raja to this plan, which was a partial blow to the monopoly enjoyed by him and his officers, was gained by the abolition of dues hitherto levied on their caravans in Bengal and by the restriction of trade in such valuable items as sandal-wood, indigo, skins, tobacco, betel-nut and *pán* to the Bhootanese. For the rest, Hindu and Mahomedan merchants, but not Europeans, were to be allowed to pass freely through Bhootan, and to be at liberty to dispose of their goods at Paro, the entrepot which Mr. Bogle selected, or to carry them into Tibet. This was not as great a step in the direction of free trade as Warren Hastings hoped for, but it was all that much negotiation could obtain, and it was more than the Bhootanese, although subsequently bribed by the cession of the districts of Ambari Falacottah and Jalpaish, could be induced to act up to. There was of course every reason to believe that the Teshu Lama would readily agree to any conditions which the Deb Raja accepted. In the negotiations leading up to this point Mr. Bogle seems to have displayed great judgment. His view of the duty of Government in regard to the development of trade is thoroughly sound. "In matters of commerce, I humbly apprehend that freedom and security is (*sic*) all that is required. Merchants left to themselves naturally discover the most proper manner of conducting their trade, and prompted by self-interest carry it on to the greatest extent." His mistake, and we believe that had he not died so soon he would have admitted it, was in considering that a country, which he allowed to be mountainous, barren and thinly-peopled, could maintain a large foreign trade, large enough, that is to say, to add materially to the welfare of the British Empire. The poverty and simple manners of the Bhootanese convinced him that there was no great opening amongst them. The comparative splendour of the Teshu Lama's court may have led him to form an undue estimate of the requirements of the people of Tibet, though his march thither should have acted as a check. It is unfortunate that his tour was not more extended, so that he might have seen the general nakedness of the land which Nain Singh has since so graphically depicted. Only by the custom of the masses is a large trade in foreign goods possible; and this is out of the question in the isolated countries in and about the Himalaya, where the people can depend almost entirely on themselves for the necessities and comforts of life and have no means, even if they had the inclination, for buying outside luxuries. Such trade as there is owes its *raison d'être*, with very few excep-

tions, to the appetites and tastes of the gentry, who constitute a small minority in these regions. It may be interrupted for long, as it was last century, without disastrous consequences. When the temporary hindrances have disappeared or been removed, it reverts to its old channels and gradually recovers its old amount. The circumstances which called it forth forbid anything but a trifling increase. In the case of the through trade with Tibet our conviction is that it fully recovered itself some twenty-five years ago, and that in the nature of things it has not since increased and never will increase in any appreciable degree.

Mr. Markham, on the contrary, holds that Mr. Bogle's mission laid the foundation of a policy which, if it had since been steadily pursued, would have long ago ensured "permanent results," which expression, by the light of other remarks of his, we interpret to mean a considerable trade. That the issue has been otherwise he attributes to British apathy and Nepalese obstruction. Against this view it may be urged with much force, we think, that Warren Hastings was Governor-General for ten years after Mr. Bogle's return, and that in this time, although three more missions were deputed to Bhootan and a second to Tibet, though the Teshu Lama of Mr. Bogle's acquaintance interceded personally for the British with the Emperor of China, and though Purungir Gosain was established as British agent in Tibet, nothing good in the way of trade was achieved. The merit of Warren Hastings in this affair is that he was a pioneer of a possible trade. He conceived the idea which we now know to have been an exaggerated one, but which there is no doubt that he honestly entertained, that the trade with Tibet might, if properly developed, become the most extensive and lucrative of any inland trade in the world. To the improvement of this trade he gave his close attention during a long tenure of office, never losing any opportunity of communication with Tibet, Bhootan or Pekin. Yet, in opposition to what Mr. Markham implies, no material success, that is to say, no marked increase of trade was obtained. There was constant prediction of great profits, but no fulfilment of the prophecy. There were repeated protestations of friendship by the Teshu Lama, but fine words, as the proverb tells us, butter no parsnips. The seed of expectation was sown, but in a barren and dry land, and the consequence was the harvest of disappointment. If the long-sustained efforts of a statesman, on whom the greatest pressure was put to make large remittances, ended in practical failure, what encouragement, what need was there for his successors to follow up the insignificant track when easier and more important openings of trade were becoming available through the extension of the British territories in India? It is pleasanter of course for states, as for individuals, to be on good terms with their neighbours. But so far as commerce is concerned

there can be no gain to British India from friendly intercourse with Tibet, unless at the same time the reserve of her suzerain is overcome. This is a feat which Warren Hastings was never able to accomplish. Exclusiveness is the traditional policy of the Manchu Government. It is true that within the sphere of its influence it has borne and still bears with the presence of Roman Catholic religious of various denominations, but only because their scientific attainments have been useful to itself, or because they have been missionaries of faith, not commerce. It is worthy of notice also, as regards more distant Tibet, that the Chinese Umbas only appeared on the scene a year or so before Desideri left, and that Della Penna had completed about two-thirds of his long sojourn in Lhasa before their arrival. Since 1760 or thereabouts even the holy fathers have only been tolerated in Tibet as travellers. Huc and Gabet were sent away from Lhasa after a month's sojourn. Laymen have fared worse. The nature of Van de Putte's danger, who was at Lhasa from about 1730 to 1736, is clear enough. He was "a chiel takin' notes." In the hope of avoiding detection, he usually wrote on small strips of paper, in a character intelligible only to himself. Mr. Bogle was suspected of being a surveyor, travelling to spy out the nature of the land, so that the Company might have its topographical information ready whenever it found a pretext for invasion. Had he indulged his private wish he would have visited Lhasa. The circumstance of Lieutenant Davis, one of the members of Turner's embassy, belonging to the Bengal Engineers, elicited so strong an objection as compelled him to stay behind in Bhootan. Mr. Manning's position during his last weeks in Lhasa was, if we rightly appreciate his fragmentary notes, very critical. The Moravians, now settled in Lahoul, have tried in vain to obtain a footing in Western Tibet. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, so to his repulse at Shipki by villagers, who evidently knew that it was as much as their lives were worth to let an Englishman pass by that way into Tibet, we owe Mr. Wilson's* graphic account of his recent journey along the southern water-shed of the Indus to Cashmere. On the eastern side neither Mr. Edgar, nor, later still, Sir Richard Temple has met with any encouragement to cross the border from Sikkim. On the contrary, the former, in answer to his proposal that he should be invited to Chumbi, was told by the Jongpen of Phari that such a proceeding was quite contrary to his orders, which forbade all intercourse between Tibet and British India. In a letter, of which the genuineness is beyond doubt, and which was in answer to a representation of Mr. Edgar's approach, the Umbas of Lhasa laid down the law plainly

* The Abode of Snow, Chap XVIII.

enough to the Raja of Sikkim. He was to do everything he could, consistently with courtesy, to keep the Englishman from crossing the border, in accordance with old custom and his bounden duty. The new policy of road-making, with which he had conciliated the British Government, was hateful to them, and if he continued to behave in this manner it would not be well with him.

We should deplore this repellent attitude of the Chinese quite as much as Mr. Markham does, if we thought that it had availed to deprive the British nation of a great benefit. But we do not, and this is the point on which we most differ with him. The establishment of a Russian Consul at Urga, on which he depends as an incentive to the British Government to claim a similar post for a representative of its own at Lhasa, has peculiar circumstances to justify it. Urga is a town which commands the line of a trade of which one article is much prized and* universally used in Russia. You might as soon deprive the ordinary Russian of his tea as the ordinary Englishman of his beer. The trade is of old standing, and the knowledge that Chinese influence was waning made the Court of Saint Petersburg in 1870, not only insist upon having a Russian Consul there, but also† a Russian garrison, as a means of protection against the Mahomedan rebels, who were then in the full swing of success. To suggest an analogous case. If Great Britain had for long been dependent on Tibet for all her malt, and if the Kambus had suddenly defied the control of the Tibetan Government and endangered the safety of the road to Darjeeling, she would have had strong cause for taking a similar step to protect her trade. As a matter of fact Great Britain has never had either directly or indirectly a great trade with Tibet. The articles exchanged have been such as were deemed luxuries by the respective holders, or such as in the nature of things only involved a moderate demand, gold, silver, musk, borax, wool and a few ponies on the one side, woollen and cotton cloths, brocades, silks, cutlery, glassware, coral, pearls, spices, sugar, tobacco and indigo on the other. With Nepal the rough blankets, salt, sheep and goats of the north have been exchanged for the rice of the lower valleys. But here, the enthusiast will say, are just the elements for a large trade. Only let British merchants have free communication with Tibet, and success is certain. To this view we demur. To begin with, nature has interposed no slight obstacles. There is no need to go further along the Cashmere and Ladak route than to the foot of the Zogi La, or along the Nepal and Tibet route than to

* Mr. Lumley's Report on the Tea Trade of Russia, pages 1-3. *Central Asia*, page 314. Yule's Introductory Remarks to Prejevalsky's

† Von Hellwald's *Russians in Mongolia*, Vol. I., page xxii.

Nayakote, twenty-five miles beyond Katmandoo, in order to understand what are the difficulties. In the one case there are some miles along the bed of the Sind, as you approach Sonamurg, which Mr. Moorcroft described* as a very hard and scabrous ascent obstructed by blocks of stone and dangerous from frequent slips and over which the baggage of Dr. Henderson† was, notwithstanding the precautions taken for the comfort of the mission to which he belonged, delayed for several days. On the second route to which we have referred, three mountain passes have to be surmounted, over which sheep and goats are the only beasts that can be used for loads. The track is too steep, too treacherous, too narrow at times even for mules, and the climate too relaxing for yaks. Practically, except for rice and salt, men and women bear all the burdens. In Sikkim the Jelep La offers easier gradients. Yet, simply for bridges and a bridle-track to this point, Mr. Edgar estimated an expenditure of at least half a lac of rupees. The descriptions of various travellers, beginning with Mr. Bogle, and ending with Mr. Eden, leave no room for doubting the difficulties of the Paro route through Bhootan. Beyond the points indicated there are, in the case of the routes to Eastern Turkistan, elevated passes to be crossed, some of which involve the transfer of loads from horses or mules to yaks, and one, the Sanju Pass,‡ is hard for yaks even, and there are besides the discomforts of desert uplands, swollen streams, and the risk of suffocating whirlwinds to encounter. For seven or eight stages continuously grass is scarce and water bad. In his first journey Mr. Forsyth, Envoy though he was, only just avoided starvation for his camp followers. From Katmandoo onwards there is the choice between the Kerong and the Kuti routes. The first leads through a bare and rocky country to the most desolate province of Tibet; the second follows for twenty-five miles or so the gorge of the Bhotia Kosi, and for this distance is always bad for weak nerves, and culminates, for a third of a mile, in a pathway never more than eighteen inches wide and sometimes as little as nine inches, of stone slabs supported by iron bars driven into the face of the precipice at a height of about 1,500 feet above the roaring torrent! The Sikkim and Bhootan routes are easy compared with the others, and they have the advantage of leading directly towards the capital of Tibet. The four routes above referred to we have chosen, because there is ample information on record concerning them, and because they all are used by native

* *Moorcroft's Travels*, Vol. II., page 98. † See Dr. Scully's account in *Stray Feathers*, Vol. IV., 1876. He crossed

† *Lahore to Yarkund*, page 33. it twice, and saw yaks slipping on Dr. Henderson was a member of the each occasion. first mission to Yarkund.

traders, as much, we believe, as any alternative routes in the countries which they traverse. It might of course be possible to find better substitutes. The line of the Bagmutty at once occurs as likely to give an easier passage into Nepal. In Bhootan Mr. Bogle believed that a more level road might be made along the course of the Pachu Chinchu. But he saw also that there was a policy in not facilitating the entrance to the country. Independently, however, of the argument dear to hillmen that the mountains are their fortifications, which the men of Sikkim would act up to as heartily as their neighbours if they were equally independent, the question arises whether the prospects of increasing traffic are such as to warrant a large expenditure on engineering. We think not. Mr. Fitch's and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's statements as to the existence of a flourishing trade between India and Tibet through the passes of Nepal and Bhootan from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century must be taken with a little caution. The former wrote on hearsay, viewing *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The latter's stay in Nepal was * too short, and his means of acquiring information too limited for him to be credited with more than good intentions in his references to the circumstances of past days. The lists of both, as also that of Della Penna, whose opportunities were greater, relate mainly to luxuries. The *laudator temporis acti* has not an unpleasant rôle, but in the absence of trustworthy statistics his general statements on the prosperity of arts, agriculture and commerce must be taken for what they are worth. Nearly thirty years later the same want of accurate records made it impossible for Mr. Brian Hodgson to give more than an approximate idea of the existing trade, and even he with all the advantages which personal aptitude for research, long residence in the country, and official position gave him, subsequently allowed that he had† reason to believe that he had over-estimated the trading capital of Nepal by one-third. The error is easily explained. The Nepalese Government keeps no record of exports and imports. Consequently Mr. Hodgson had no other source of information than "the conjectural estimates of old and respectable merchants" as to the total amount, and no better check on their statements than that which a rough calculation upon the amounts of duties and exemptions from duties afforded of the aggregate value of the trade. His figures

* The treaty which admitted of Captain Knox going to Katmandoo as Resident was ratified by the British Government at the end of October 1801, and by the Nepalese Durbar a year later. Captain Knox left Katmandoo for good in March

1803. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton accompanied him. Except at the beginning, the aversion of the Durbar to their presence was very marked. (*Aitchison's Treaties*, Vol. ii, pages 189 and 205.)

† *Essays*, part ii, page 92.

show that, in 1831, the commerce of Nepal was worth about thirty-three lacs of Company's rupees a year, which amount, in the opinion of his informants, was triple that of 1816. This seems to prove that, from the time when their defeat by the British put a limit to the Gorkhalis' dominions, the trade had gradually been reviving. Of the total value of the trade in 1831, that between British territory and Tibet through Nepal was worth about * six lacs of rupees, for which, as Sir John Lawrence said of the trade with Eastern Turkistan, a railway train once a year would suffice, and it is clear from Mr. Hodgson's † remarks that the extension of the through traffic was not hindered by prohibitive duties on the part of Nepal. From small beginnings great results sometimes flow. But this is not the case with Trans-Himalayan trade. The present information concerning Trans-Himalayan countries is much more detailed and trustworthy than that which Mr. Hodgson could command. Independently of the inherent difficulties of the road, it is now ‡ known that in Ameer Yacoob Beg's territories popula-

* This is worth noticing because Mr. Markham lays much stress on the importance of the through trade with Tibet. The tabular statements appended to Mr. Brian Hodgson's *Essay on the commerce of Nepal* (*Essays*, Part ii. p.p. 105-120), are a little confusing at first sight, but the following results concerning the through trade can be gathered from them;—

Value at Katmandoo of imports from British territory destined for Northern Nepal and Tibet, including duties, cost of carriage, and 30 per cent. profit up to Katmandoo.	<i>Nplse Rs. Co's. Rs.</i>
	3,56,900=2,97,416

Value at Katmandoo of imports from Northern Nepal and Tibet destined for British territory, including cost of carriage and duties (profit not stated.)	4,14,700=3,45,583
	7,71,600=6,42,999

As to the distribution of the British wares between Northern Nepal and Tibet nothing can be deduced from the papers. Of the imports thence for British territory, articles to the value of Nepalese Rs. 27,000 (=Company's Rs. 22,500) are from Northern Nepal, which is included in the term Bhote and signified by the term Kachar. We shall

therefore not be far wrong in putting the Katmandoo valuation of the through trade at about six lacs of Company's rupees.

The balance, it will be seen, is apparently against Northern Nepal and Tibet, but an equilibrium is maintained by the importation thither of the rice of Central Nepal, which is not included in Mr. Hodgson's tables.

Mr. Hodgson says that the real value of Nepalese rupees is as 135 to 100 Company's rupees. But he turns Nepalese into Company's rupees in the proportion of 120 to 100, which was in his time and still is the average market rate at Katmandoo.

† "At all events 8 per cent. will amply cover all Custom House charges within the Nepalese dominions." *Essays*, Part ii, page 96.

‡ "My personal observation leads me to the belief that this one million and fifteen thousand is very considerably above the actual numbers which a proper census would disclose, as the true population of the country in the possession of the Amír as defined in the preceding pages, and I have been enabled to form this estimate for the whole country from experience of its western divisions.

"Two circumstances conspire to mislead the mere traveller in his

tion is sparse and cultivation only possible in the neighbourhood of rivers, that the people are fairly well off in the matter of food clothes and lodging, and consequently are independent of foreign piece-goods, which is the commodity that British merchants specially desire to find new markets for. * It is also very doubtful whether with a larger accumulation of wealth an equilibrium in trade could be established, the greater part of the articles which could be given in exchange being too bulky or of too little value

calculations. One is the sudden transition from a region of solitude and desolation to another of society and habitation; and the other is the striking contrast between the desert wastes around and the flourishing settlements that spread far and wide between them. Thus the traveller approaching the country from the south has to cross a vast uninhabited region utterly devoid of trees and verdure; and after ten or twelve days of such desolation, he suddenly plunges into a flourishing settlement, extending over as many miles along a river course, and thickly planted with trees in all its extent. His first impression is one of dense population and plenty, but a closer investigation shows him that abundance of trees does not necessarily prove numbers of population; and he discovers that the houses are widely scattered either as single homesteads or in clusters of two or three together; and if he counts them, he will find that within a radius of a couple of miles all round hardly fifty tenements are visible. He quits this settlement in his onward journey and, whichever way he goes, he traverses a wide waste of blank desert to the next which, may be, is a market town and entered on market day. He here finds a closely-packed and busy crowd blocking the streets with their numbers; and extricating himself from their midst, he goes his way impressed by the density and activity of the population. But if he halts here, he will find the illusion dispelled. The morrow, instead of a struggling and jostling crowd, will show him lonesome streets with long rows of silent forges, empty

cook-shops, deserted grocers' stalls, and the tenantless sheds of the shoemaker, hatter and draper; and if he enquires, he will learn that the multitude of yesterday is dispersed far and wide over this and the adjoining settlements till next week's market-day brings them together again.

"I have no data on which to base an approximate estimate of the area of land under cultivation in each division; but considering the limited water-supply and the barren nature of the soil, and comparing the spreads of cultivation with those of other countries where the population is known, it does not appear to me that the soil is capable of feeding the alleged population in the western divisions of the country which I have seen, particularly if it is borne in mind, that they are entirely self-supporting and receive no extraneous supplies of bread stuffs and similar food. It is for these reasons that I am disposed to estimate the actual normal population at a lower figure than that produced by the reckoning in the time of the Chinese as above given, and independent of the great diminution that is said to have occurred by the war losses and massacres attending the revolution that overthrew their rule, and transferred the possession of the country to other hands." (Dr. Bellew in the Report of the Second Mission to Yarkund in 1873, p.p. 62,63.)

* In Nepal, which is comparatively close, it pays the masses better to import raw cotton and make a strong home-spun cloth of it, than to import the less durable and higher-priced fabrics of English and Bombay mills.

to be worth the heavy cost entailed by long and toilsome inland transport. The local circumstances of Tibet are even worse. In the North-West of that country from Shipki as far as Sarka the population is, with the exception of a few villages, a few monastic communities and a few gold-diggers, nomad and scanty, for the simple reason that the soil at that height is unfavourable to agriculture. The insignificant town of Sarka, lying almost due north of Katmandoo, has to get all its grain over the mountains from the distant marts of Kerong and Jongkajong. The large monastery of Tadum, further to the west, is at an equal disadvantage. A more flourishing tract is that which includes Shigatze, Gyangze and the villages to the southward, but the population of the whole can be conjectured from the fact that, ten years ago, the inhabitants of those two towns and their environs, priests included, were estimated by Nain Singh at about twenty-five thousand. The population of Lhasa with its surrounding monasteries is under forty thousand, and there is so far no reason to believe in the existence of more populous settlements further to the east. Then as to the products and the requirements of the country. The wool which is doubtless to be had in any quantity could not on account of the cost of carriage compete with the Australian staple. There is a nearer and equally boundless field for ghee in the Terai of Nepal, where hundreds of thousands of cows graze yearly. The sheep and cattle of the Tibet highlands pine when taken to the lower valleys of Nepal, and would certainly not fare better in the greater heat of Hindustan. This disposes of what Mr. Markham rightly calls the real wealth of Tibet. There remain such articles as musk, the demand for which is strictly limited, and indeed for that matter the supply also, and * gold, found only on such lofty and remote plains as render it impossible, we believe, to ensure a really large out-turn. The hardships to those inured to them from infancy are so great that probably no adventurers from other countries could bear them, and if they could the difficulty of feeding them is apparently insuperable. Even if gold were forthcoming in abundance what has Great Britain to give in exchange that Tibet wants? A little more rice and a few more spices would satisfy the aspirations of a people who can boast what we cannot on behalf of our labouring classes at home, that they are warmly clad, snugly housed according to their ideas, and have unlimited mutton, milk and whisky. Unless indeed, anti-Malthus like, we are to take up our parable against polyandry and celibacy, the natural if not voluntary check on over-population, in which case we shall

* Our reference is to the Tibetan, tion as compared with the former, not the Khoten gold fields. The and the out-turn is much more considerable under present circumstances.

find it no easy task to overthrow the institutions of centuries, or when overthrown, to provide the extra mouths with their due quota of albuminous food. Then, when we have surmounted these obstacles and gold in return for grain unlimited is a drug in the market, we shall have the satisfaction of saying that we are unprofitable servants, for we shall have disturbed the exchanges as much as the mines of Nevada are doing now.

There is something to be said against Mr. Markham's sweeping condemnation of Jung Bahadoor's fiscal policy. In 1839 an engagement * was concluded by which the Nepalese delivered an authentic statement of the duties leviable in Nepal, that is, † Nepal Proper and the main route thither, and agreed not to levy unauthorized imposts not entered in that paper on British subjects. The authorized duties range from 7 to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, being somewhat in excess of the rates that obtained in 1831, which, considering that the engagement was negotiated by Mr. Brian Hodgson, is rather curious. There have been occasional attempts at evasion; but, on the whole, the Durbar has been true to the obligation which it then incurred. The inviolability of treaties in time of peace has not yet been assured amongst Western nations, as Russia's conduct in repudiating the Black Sea Clause of the Treaty of Paris during the Franco-German war, and more recent differences in regard to the Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and America prove. It is to be regretted, we think, that the compact with Nepal was not made of general application, and we can only conceive that it was restricted to the particular route with which it deals because that is the one chiefly used for the through traffic between Bengal and Tibet. If trade along it had been habitually hampered in recent times by unauthorized exactions, we should have expected, as British subjects are largely engaged in it and conduct many of their operations from the important centre of Patna, to hear complaints in the press. But this has not been the case, and therefore we are compelled to conclude that Mr. Markham has generalized on insufficient grounds. If the charge can be substantiated, we are quite at one with him in wishing to see a less shortsighted policy introduced. As to his opinion that less taxation would be required if the army of Nepal were reduced and that the administration of the country does not call for so large a force as is now maintained the same might be said of almost every country in Europe. Provided that it is moderate in amount, the taxation of trade in Nepal is as defensible as the levying of sea customs by the Indian Government, and much more defensible than the latter's in-

* *Aitchison's Treaties*, vol. II, pages 212-219. about one-fifth or four hundred thousand persons of the whole population

† By Nepal Proper is meant the valley of Katmandoo, which contains. of the territories under the Government of Nepal.

land salt revenue ; and it is just possible that the shrewd minister, who ignored the overtures of rebel courts and compelled his wavering colleagues to espouse the British cause in the mutiny, knows the requirements of his country better than the sagest of arm-chair philosophers. Till more civilized nations, by ceasing to distrust one another, do away with the chief reason for national debts and huge standing armies, an Oriental potentate may be excused if he takes the same measures as they for ensuring the integrity of the territories for which he is responsible. Only twenty years have passed since the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh was annexed, and the fear of annexation, which may seem ridiculous to the English critic who is convinced that that policy can never recur, is still the *bête noire* of the Gorkhali—as fond of his country as any Swiss—whose prejudices Jung Bahadoor is fain to respect. And, we may add, there are certain instincts of race which no statesman can afford to overlook. If Lord Beaconsfield were to attempt to substitute Imperialism for constitutional Government in England, the consequences to himself at any rate would be very unpleasant. So with Jung Bahadoor if he tried to make his countrymen, who are the largest element in the Nepalese army, turn their swords into pruning hooks. By origin, by long continuous service and by preference, the Gorkhali are a martial people. Gurungs, Muggurs, Limboos and Kerantis might be relegated to industrial occupations, but any endeavour to deprive the Gorkhali of a military career, would involve the risk, we may say the certainty, of a *pronunciamento*. The only practicable check on their numbers in the ranks has been in force for generations. It is founded on the same principle of short service, coupled with the obligation on those who have completed the period of training to return to duty in case of need, as enabled Scharnhorst to make an armed nation of Prussia. By it every Gorkhali has his turn in the army for a few years, and then makes room for another of the family, himself going back to superintend the cultivation of the little rent-free estate, which though annually renewed in the name of the individual actually under arms, is practically the State's means of satisfying the whole family.

Of the remainder of Mr. Markham's work we regret that we cannot write in terms of unqualified approval. The chorus of praise in his honour which re-appears every month on the cover of the *Geographical Magazine* would have been more valuable if the knowledge of his critics had not been so palpably limited to the contents of the book that they were reviewing. An exception is needed in favour of the index. That is very good, as good as the index to Sir Henry Rawlinson's recently published *Essays* is bad. Otherwise there is much room for improvement. The truth seems to be that Mr. Markham attempts too much. His public duties in

the Geographical Department of the India Office cannot be light, and to them he has added of late years the important labour of editing a *Geographical Magazine*. As though the latter pursuit was not sufficient to occupy his leisure he has published several works of a less fugitive character, each of which demanded, if it has not received, much general reading and long-sustained attention. His happiest effort in the path of literature was the editing of the narrative of Clavijo's Embassy. The general sketch of the history of Persia is so wanting in method and accuracy as to be nearly useless for the purposes of reference for which it was intended. Our suspicion after reading it that Mr. Markham had too many irons in the fire is strengthened by his last production. The discovery of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers was doubtless very welcome to him, but the public was not in such a hurry for them as to make it worth his while to be constantly careless and inaccurate. And this is just what has happened. His shortcomings are the less pardonable because he constantly shows by his references that he has had access to sources of correct information. If he had allowed himself more time, Mr. Markham was quite capable of arranging Mr. Bogle's materials more skilfully, so as to have avoided repetition, and to have given greater continuity to the narrative than he has done. However, this is a minor fault, which involves no more serious consequences than patience on the part of the reader, who, if he is balked of information at a point where he might have reasonably expected to find it, will come upon it later if he pursues the even tenor of his way. What we have more especially to complain of is the tendency to repetition in the notes, the frequent mistakes in fact, unreasonable assumptions in regard to questions involving doubt, an erroneous way of describing the configuration of the Himalaya, and rash drawing in parts of his general map. Did it never occur to Mr. Markham that it is not usual to open a volume like his on Tibet at random and to read a few pages here and there without regard for what has gone before? Yet, only on his supposition of such eccentricity can we explain the constant recurrence of such notes as that Demojong's country means Sikkim, and that Seling stands for Sining, and so on. It was quite right, in the interests of the general reader, who might be presumed to have little previous knowledge of the subject, to enlighten him once at the earliest opportunity on such points. But it was just as much incumbent on the editor to assume that his readers would have sense enough to read the book regularly from beginning to end, and that their intellects were equal to the strain of remembering an explanatory note.

The subject of Buddhist cosmogony and religion is not the simplest in the world, and there was no particular reason why Mr. Markham should have dealt with it. The exigencies of the case

would have been met if he had briefly explained the relative position and functions of the Dalai and Teshu Lamas without troubling himself as to their successive incarnations. But having undertaken to trace their origin he should have done so clearly and correctly. He begins by stating that, subsequently to the transfer of their original scriptures to Ceylon, it had been revealed to the Buddhists of India "that their lord had created the five Dhyani or celestial Buddhas, and that each of these had created five Buddhisatwas or beings in the course of attaining Buddhahood. The Tibetans took firm hold of this phase of the Buddhist creed, and their distinctive belief is that the Buddhisatwas continue to remain in existence for the good of mankind by passing through a succession of human beings from the cradle to the grave." Even if this statement were substantially accurate, which it is not, the wording is not in conformity with the technical phraseology of the Buddhist schoolmen, between which and the language of the Athanasian Creed the curious may find many points of resemblance. From Adi-Buddha the great self-existent (Swayambhu) wrapt in religious meditation proceeded*, according to the older and more orthodox authorities, five Dhyani Buddhas. The term Dhyani has here the special sense of divine to distinguish it from the Manushi or human Buddhas who have attained to Nirvana by their own efforts. The five Dhyanis each begot one, not five,† Buddhisatwa (literally the principle of goodness of a follower of Buddha) whose relation to their author is considered as that of father to son, thus:

<i>Dhyanis.</i>		<i>Boddhisatwas.</i>	
1.—Vairochana	begat	1.—Samanta Bhadra.	
2.—Akshobhya	"	2.—Vajra Pani.	
3.—Ratna Sambhava	"	3.—Ratna Pani.	
4.—Amitabha	"	4.—Pudma Pani.	
5.—Amogha Siddha	"	5.—Viswa Pani.	

There is again a distinction between Dhyani and Manushi Buddhisatwas, which we need not pursue, our business being with the former only, as successively the active authors of creation. Three systems of creation have passed away, and the three first Buddhisatwas who originated them, their terrestrial occupation being at an end, are engrossed with the worship of Swayambhu. The fourth Buddhisatwa, Pudma Pani, now controls this present universe of his making. His special invocation "Om mani pudme hum" the Lord's Prayer of the Buddhist world, the countless repetition of which is so essential to the attainment of absolute bliss, that mechanical appliances have been invented to supplement the

* A later enumeration gives six Dhyanis and six Buddhisatwas (*Brian Hodgson's Essays I, page 29*). † We prefer Buddhisatwa to Buddhisatwa.

outpourings of the human voice, combines the mystic word, in which was manifest the first ray of light to primeval chaos, with an allusion to his own genesis through the lotus flower, the symbol of perfection. When Pudma Pani's system of creation has disappeared, his functions of creator and governor will devolve on the fifth and last Boddhisatwa. Mr. Markham's next blunder is, in connection with the incarnation of the puritan Tsongkhapa, to represent Amitabha on one page as a Dhyani Buddha and on the next as a Boddhisatwa, the former, as we have shown, being the right designation. But there is worse confusion than this. Geduntubpa, who must henceforth be deemed old Parr's rival in the posthumous honours of longevity, is represented to have been a contemporary of Tsongkhapa, and like him a great reformer. It is said that he was the incarnation of Pudma Pani, that on his death he abandoned the attainment of Buddhahood, that is final absorption in Buddha, in order to benefit mankind by being born again and again, and that in him commenced the succession of incarnations still peculiar to the Tibetan hierarchy, that his first four successors were Teshu Lamas only, but that the fifth, Navang Lobsang, became by the nomination of the Emperor of China, about the year 1650, first Dalai Lama as well, and that since his time there have been two great incarnations of equal rank "the Dalai Lama at Potala, who is an incarnation of the Boddhisatwa Avalokiteswara and the Teshu Lama at Teshu Lumbo, the incarnation of the Boddhisatwa Amitabha." In this statement there is this in the first instance to perplex the inexperienced reader that Geduntubpa, of whom the line of Teshu Lamas are said to be the successive incarnations, and in whose fifth incarnation, in the person of Navang Lobsang Teshu Lama, the subsequently separate dignity of Dalai Lama is said to have originated, is represented as an incarnation of Pudma Pani; whilst directly afterwards the incarnation of Dalai Lama is attributed to an apparently different Boddhisatwa named Avalokiteswara, and that of Teshu Lama to Amitabha. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that through Pudma Pani an incarnation can be traced back a step further to Amitabha, and that Avalokiteswara is another name for Pudma Pani. But this information Mr. Markham omits to give, and it is not a *sine quâ non* that all his readers should have the previous knowledge requisite for understanding his elliptical sentences, or that they should have by their side such means of reference as would enable them to solve the difficulty. In the second place we should be glad to know on what authority Mr. Markham ascribes cotemporaneous existence and reform to Tsongkhapa and Geduntubpa. He so often gives his authorities that we regret the specific omission in the present instance. His date for the former's life is from 1358 to 1419, and for the latter's from 1339 to 1474 A.D. Prodigious,

as Dominie Sampson says! A different view, based on the researches of such eminent authorities as Koppen, Desgodins and Mayers, is that the spirit of Tsongkhapa passed on his death in 1419, a date agreeing with Mr. Markham's, into dGedungrubpa, which is the Tibetan rendering for Mr. Markham's most old and reverend signor—and that whether or not intended by Tsongkhapa the chain of incarnations of himself beginning with * dGedungrubpa was a most important result of his reforms.

We turn now to more recent and simple topics in regard to which Mr. Markham might easily have been exact. Grueber, Desideri and Della Penna did not, as he says, visit Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On one page we are told that Mr. Manning returned to India from Lhasa in 1811, and on another in 1812. The latter is the correct date. The Mohari rupee of Nepal is equal to $13\frac{1}{2}$ (not $13\frac{1}{2}$) of the Company's, not of the sicca rupee. The *kurs*, or *kuras*, is a silver ingot, shaped like a boat and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It has not and never had a fixed value, but varies with the price of silver. Colonel Richard Lawrence, having been the representative of the British Government in Nepal for more than five years, may see no particular reason why his name should be omitted from the list of Residents. The river immediately to the east of the Kurnali is the Bheri, not Bhei, and that which Mr. Markham calls the Sarju is more commonly called the Babai, to distinguish it from the Sarju of Kumaon, which rises above Almorah and, uniting with the Ramgunga, flows into the Kali or Sardah below Petoraghur. Motiharee is in Chumparun, not Sarun. In the invocation of Pudma Pani, pudmi should be written pudme, the inflection being that of the locative case in Sanscrit, and Om should be translated Oh God, not merely Oh. Depen and Depon cannot both be right. The proper termination is pen, a lord or commander or master, as in Jongpen (Jong fort and pen master=chatelain or castellan). Depen means the man who has authority over a village. The accurate transliteration would be Jhwangpwen and Dhepwen. Chaudhari and Chaunteriah have †

* dGedungrubpa's incarnation, according to Koppen, lasted till 1476, thus fulfilling an average human lifetime.

† Chaudhari is from *Chau*, four, and *Dhri* to hold, that is, a holder of four shares. There are two versions of the origin of Chaunteriah. The one is from Chautara or Chabutara, a platform. When the Rajpoot ancestors of the present Gorkhalis settled in the hills the chiefs distinguished their houses from those of their clansmen by a raised

platform in front, usually under trees. As all had to build here and there on uneven ground this was the device adopted for indicating the more important persons' residences. Hence the chief became styled amongst his people the Chautara Sahib, or master of the platform. In time the eldest son of the Chief was called Sahib Ji, and the younger ones Chautara Sahibs, and thence the corruption of Chaunteriah. The other explanation is, that the word is derived from *Chau* four

little in common. The one word means primarily the headman of a trade, the second signifies a collateral member of the royal family of Nepal. A mandate from a Governor-General for protection and liberty of trade on behalf of foreigners is rightly styled a *perwanah* by Mr. Bogle, and the vernacular word is wrongly interpreted by Mr. Markham to mean on that occasion a permit or custom house pass. It is as incorrect to call the dominant race of Nepal Gorkhas as to call a Lancastrian a Lancashire. Gorkha is the name of a town and district, Gorkhali is an inhabitant thereof, or descendant of such inhabitant. Mr. Bogle's Kambu Prince may be explained as certainly, not probably, hailing from * Kam, the great eastern division of Tibet. Jung Bahadoor has been honoured with the first, not the second, class of the order of the Bath, and though with powers as extensive as any *Maire de Palais* he is only Prime Minister, not Sovereign, of Nepal. In the face of his readiness to admit English sportsmen into the Terai, of his courtesy to such English gentlemen as have been inclined to visit Katmandoo, of his active help in the mutiny when even a neutral attitude would have been valuable, of his general observance of treaty obligations, of his care for the people in time of scarcity, of his opposition to *suttee* and punishments involving mutilation, of his bestowing an English education on his sons, and of his recent welcome to the Prince of Wales, it is an exaggeration to say that "he maintains a policy of more than Chinese exclusiveness and obstruction, and that he is an enemy to civilizing progress." His country is not the vassal of the Celestial Empire. The dependence was never during the present century much more than nominal, and the last sign of it disappeared five years ago, when the quinquennial Embassy to Peking was abolished. To write in successive paragraphs that the wars of the British Government with Nepal and Bhootan were waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabble about boundaries, that the Nepalese Durbar from 1804 indulged in a martial and turbulent policy involving a system of encroachment and menace along the frontier, and that the permanent results of the war of 1814-16 were good, seems hardly consistent. The integrity of boundaries is everywhere regarded as a subject of

and *Tri* to cross the ocean. In the Raj Niti there are four things essential to the man who is entrusted with the management of State affairs, to wit, conciliation, presents, chastisement and the power of causing misunderstanding amongst the members of the enemy's party. The eldest son, who inherited the throne, was not to trouble himself with any affair of State, and hence the management de-

volved on his younger brothers, who acted as Ministers. With such duties the knowledge of politics was incumbent on them, and hence they were called Chaunteriahs, that is those who have crossed the four oceans of the essentials named above.

* Strange to say there is a small Kambu settlement in Ladak. (*Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, page 242.)

paramount importance, and their protection a valid reason for war, when diplomatic action has failed to bring an offending neighbour to his senses. To say that the course taken by Lord Cornwallis at the time of the Chinese invasion of Nepal in 1792 brought about the Nepal war, is to ignore the simple and sufficient reason which Mr. Markham, as shown above, has given for the resort to hostilities. The Governor-General refused the military help which the Gorkhalis implored, and offered to mediate between the belligerents; but long before his Envoy could arrive on the scene, a peace disadvantageous to Nepal had been concluded, and Colonel Kirkpatrick, though he carried out his mission in the hope of improving commerce, effected nothing by it. Later came the perfectly distinct mission of Captain Knox, ending with indignities which led to his recall and the dissolution of the alliance. We have always been of opinion that, at this juncture, it would have been wiser politically and financially to keep on the Residency, with such a show of force as would have ensured respect for it. The withdrawal of this check left the Gorkhalis free to violate the border and to impede trade, and the eventual cost of restoring the old state of things was much greater than that which an addition to the Resident's escort, and the permanent establishment of a *corps d'observation* along the border would have entailed. If there was any weakness it was on the part of Lord Wellesley, not of Lord Cornwallis.

To resume the thread of our corrections. Mr. Brian Hodgson is not the only Englishman, except Dr. Hooker, who has ever been allowed to travel in Nepal beyond a circuit of twenty miles round Katmandoo, nor we fancy would the general reader understand that "a trip to the Kosi river" meant in reality a trip some thirty miles beyond Katmandoo to the Indrawati, an affluent of the Sun-kosi, which is itself only an affluent of the Arun, the chief stream of the Kosi system. Mr. Brian Hodgson's achievement, and it was a great one, was that he contended for greater freedom of movement for the gentlemen of the Residency, and it is due to his success that subsequent Residents have not only trodden in his footsteps, but have also penetrated to places more distant than those which he attained to. The intimation that Mr. Hodgson prevented a rupture with Nepal throughout the period of the Afghan war is news to us, for we had been led by Mr. Aitchison, in whose impartiality we have the highest faith, to believe that the fear of the British arms alone prevented an outbreak, and that even the proximity of our troops did not put a stop to intrigue.* This is hardly a tribute to the power of personal influence, nor would supersession have been a worthy

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II, pages 192-193.

return for the successful exercise of it. The true reason for Mr. Hodgson's withdrawal may, we think, be ascertained by any one who will be at the pains of reading between the lines of such part of a late memoir of Sir Henry Lawrence as relates to that most distinguished diplomatist's tenure of office in Nepal. For the confusion about the Lepchuk Mr. Markham cannot be blamed. We may, however, take the opportunity of giving an accurate account of this little-known mission. Every third year a *Kafila*, consisting of two hundred and seventy horse or yak loads leaves Ladak for Lhasa, and for that exact number of loads carriage is supplied by the Tibetan Government from Gar to Lhasa on the outward journey, and on the return from Lhasa to the first abode of men, whether houses or tents, in Ladak. The goods from Ladak are dried apricots in great abundance, saffron, oriss root, which is used as incense, currants, chintz and other kinds of European piece-goods, and the articles brought back in exchange are shawl wool, and tea. The leader of the Lepchuk must be a Tibetan of Ladak, and is always chosen from a family of rank. The profits of the undertaking are shared between the Cashmere Government and the leader's family; and on account of the wealth which it brings in, the post of leader, though only held once, is eagerly sought. There are formalities as to congratulatory letters and presents to the chief members of the Tibetan Government, and return compliments of a similar nature to the Maharaja and his principal officers, the details of which are rigidly laid down, and as rigidly observed. The cost of carriage being so much greater, on account of the distance, to the Tibetan than to the Cashmere Government, the former recoups itself by a yearly venture of the same number of loads as in the triennial mission, but quite independent of it, which the Maharaja conveys at his own expense within his own border. The interchange of letters and gifts is as much *de rigueur* as on the other occasion.

It is a pure assumption that the Calmucs whom Mr. Bogle described as taking advantage of their visits to the Teshu Lama's shrines, to bring furs and other Siberian goods for sale were Manchurians. Independent testimony shows that Mr. Bogle may generally be relied on, so we prefer to believe that in the present case he means what he says, and that he refers to the remnant of the Eleuths of the Thian Shan and of the Dzungarian Calmucs, to the Torguts about Lake Balkash and the Torbots around Kokonor, whose geographical position would naturally bring them under the spiritual sovereignty of the Teshu Lama, as that of the remote Manchurians would under the spiritual sovereignty of the Tara Nath Lama at Urga. Equally unfounded also is the assumption that Mr. Bogle, when he writes of "the people" or

the natives or the Bhootanese as obstructive to the development of trade, as he does on various occasions, means the officials. This may or may not be his meaning. He saw so much of all kinds of folk that he may reasonably have believed himself justified in generalizing about them, or, through the priests, who keep up a steady intercourse with their families, he might have formed no inadequate opinion of popular feeling, just as in Nepal the army can be trusted as the exponent of the sense of the community. Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Bogle's writings to show that the people either in Tibet or Bhootan cordially took his part.

We now come to the subject of physical geography. Mr. Markham holds that "the Himalayan system is composed of three great culminating chains, running more or less parallel to each other for their whole length, from the gorge of the Indus to that of the Dihong." These chains he calls the inner or Northern, the Central and the outer or Southern. He also sees a most remarkable analogy between this mass of mountains and that of the Andes, a section of which he traversed some years ago. As it is undesirable to apply to the whole a name which belongs only to a part, we would suggest for the whole of the mountainous tract, which Mr. Markham designates Himalayan, the phrase Indo-Tibetan system, and as inner and outer are words which are likely to lead to confusion, we recommend that they be abandoned altogether. If there are three chains, the appropriate terms for them are clearly Northern, Southern and Central, and nothing else. We had thought that this theory of three chains had long ago been exploded by Mr. Brian Hodgson and other great authorities who have the advantage over Mr. Markham of having studied the question on the spot, and who maintain that the so-called southern chain, being occasionally intersected by rivers of more remote origin, is not a chain at all, but a series of spurs running southwards from an extended line of elevation more to the north, in the neighbourhood of which the said rivers rise. Of this difference Mr. Markham disposes by saying, that it is not a question of fact, but of nomenclature. This is not a satisfactory rejoinder. If the object of nomenclature be, as we conceive it should be, to establish identity of expression amongst scientific geographers, and to convey to the general reader a clear idea of that portion of nature which is being described and of the principle which regulates its aspect, it is of high importance that words of unsuitable meaning or doubtful application should not be used. Holding this opinion we object to the loose phraseology which professional writers not unfrequently adopt. We regard Mr. Markham as an offender in this respect when he writes, that a consideration of the "similar facts relating to other great mountain

masses, such as the chains or Cordilleras of the Andes" would show "that a great chain of mountains, with a continuous series of culminating ridges and a continuous slope, is a chain, whether rivers force their way through its gorges or not." He might as well have said that a row of unconnected links constitutes a chain. The essence of a chain is the continuous and close connection of its links. The word in its application to mountains may be excused in the case of the Andes of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, wherein is found an unique succession of bifurcations and apparent reunions of the main range. We say apparent, because, with the exception of the *valley of Desaguadero, which includes the lakes of Titicaca and Huallagas and of which there is no known outlet, a rift more or less pronounced occurs in the mountain wall of all the upland valleys for the passage of their drainage, generally towards the east, but westwards in the case of the Quito and Almaguer basins. In the mountain system to the north of India there is not any such succession of elevated valleys, or anything in the general formation and connection of the mountains analogous to a chain. The only instances of such basins are the unconnected and much smaller ones of Cashmere, Katmandoo, Pokhra and possibly Jumla. For the rest the valleys of the Himalaya generally are tortuous, deep and narrow, in section like a V. We may also remark, with respect to the Central Andes, which are evidently Mr. Markham's basis of comparison, that chains and cordilleras are not synonymous terms. The cordilleras are the bifurcations, and the successive bifurcations, really uniting in only one instance, form the so-called chain. To the south in Northern Chili the word is applied to †the main range, which is there single and undivided, and to the north in New Grenada to the three parallel ranges which bound and separate the Cauca and Magdalena rivers.

We frankly admit that we know no more about the Andes than what any one can learn who studies Mr. Keith Johnston's Atlas and a good Cyclopædia. But our knowledge is more thorough about the Himalaya, which we have studied closely in nature and on most modern maps, including those of its surroundings. We can therefore say, with some degree of confidence, that if there is any strong resemblance between the phenomena of the Indo-Tibetan system and the Andes, the physical features of the latter must be very different from the definition which Mr. Markham has given of the former. The key to the Indo-Tibetan system

* The northern drainage of this valley falls into lake Titicaca, whence the surplus water is carried by the Desaguadero (drain) into the salt lake of Huallagas. The latter has no exit, unless, as some have sup-

posed, there is subterraneous filtration into the plains of Tarapaca. Otherwise the superfluity must be disposed of by evaporation.

† Cordillera de Santana.

lies in the valleys of the Indus and Brahmaputra and their affluents. These constitute from the great southern bend of the Indus in the district of Gilgit to the like bend round the Abor country, a long, uneven and irregular depression with a general direction north-west to south-east. The unevenness and irregularity of this area are due to the divergent channels of the two rivers from their common centre of origin near the Mansarowar Lake, to the ever-varying gradients of descent of them and their affluents, and to the many mountains which tower within the area, and of which some in the form of ridges from the *watersheds influence the course of the affluents. The lateral limits of this area are identical with the main watersheds which throw off these affluents. In these watersheds are to be found the only continuous lines over the entire system, and because their course is over table land, glacier, ridge and peak, we prefer the word to that of main range, which would be better used in connection with mountains only. Not nearly all the streams of the Indo-Tibetan system have their origin in the clefts of mountains or run with the continuous force of a torrent to the plains. Some have their sources on extensive table lands and the difference of a few feet in level may determine the flow towards the desert of Gobi, the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal.

The line of the main watershed on the north, the general direction of which agrees with Mr. Markham's northern chain of the Karakorum and Nyenchenthanga mountains, may be traced by the following passes, uplands, &c., from the north-west corner of the Tagdumbash Pamir:—

† Ghundarab Pass			
Mintaka Pass			
Kalik Pass			
Shinshul Pass			Ft.
‡ Muztagh Pass ...	...	...	18,400
Karakorum Pass...	...	...	18,550
§ Dipsang Plains ...	...	...	17,817
Pangtung La ...	...	...	18,900

* Mr. Markham (p. 40,) presumes that when Mr. Heeley writes watershed he means water-parting. As we have the high authority of Mr. H. F. Blandford (*Physical Geography for the use of Indian Schools*, p. 169) that the last syllable of watershed is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sceadan*, to part or divide, we see no reason to abandon the older and better-known term.

† The heights of these four passes are not known. In Mr. Davies'

Trade Report (Appendix XXX), it is said that the first three are easier than the Shinshul Pass, and that all are practicable for laden horses, and open throughout the year.

‡ The Muztagh is practicable for laden yaks and is open from July to October inclusive. Its height has been estimated only by Godwin Austen.

§ The height was determined by Dr. Scully in 1874. *Stray Feathers*, Vol. IV. 1876. p.11.

			Ft.
Changlungbarma La	...	...	19,280
Chumik Lakmo	...	...	16,600
Chomorong La	...	...	18,760
Khalamba La	...	...	17,200

In the present state of geographical knowledge this watershed cannot be indicated with certainty further to the east, though it may be hoped that the researches of trained explorers will soon prove what is the connection between the Khalamba La and the meridional ranges in the Eastern Province of Kam. On the north-west the scimitar-shaped ridge, rising from the Kizilart plain to the south of the great Karakul and extending thence across the Neza Tash and Karashankar Pass along the hills to the south of the little Pamir, which separates the upper waters of the Oxus from those of the central affluents of the Tarym, and which Pundit Mumphool and Captain Trotter have named the Pamir Range, connects the Indo-Tibetan mountain system with that of the Thian-Shan, and the continuation of this watershed westwards along the ridge crossed by the Karambar and Darkot Passes and along the shoulder crossed by the Biroghil Pass, unites it with the Hindoo Kush mountains. A lengthy spur running southwards from the neighbourhood of the Biroghil Pass almost to Umbeyla separates the drainage of the Yassin-Gilgit stream, a direct feeder of the Indus, from the waters of the Kishengunga and the Swat, which are borne to the Indus through the channel of the Cabul river.

The main watershed on the south may be traced as follows:—

Chilas

Glaciers to the south of Nanga Purbut

Upper Tilel

				Ft.
Zogi La	...	...	...	11,300
Bhotkol Pass	...	...	...	14,580
Baralacha	...	...	...	16,626
Parang La	...	...	...	18,300
Shangyok La	...	...	...	16,800
Chirbitia La	...	...	...	18,570
Níti La	...	...	...	16,570
Kyungari La	...	...	...	17,400
Uta Dara	..	...	...	18,230
Nialo La	...	...	...	16,200
Fotu La	...	...	...	15,080
No La	...	...	...	16,600
Taku La*	...	...	...	.....
Dango La*	...	...	...	.....
Laghulang La	...	...	...	16,200

* Heights not determined.

On the northern side of the main northern watershed, the largest drainage system with which we are yet acquainted, is that of the southern affluents of the Tarym, which bears their water, as well as that of other streams originating on the Pamir and the Thian-Shan, into the lake country of *Lob. The journeys of Mr. Drew, of the Tibetan explorer in 1871-72, and the later one of Nain Singh, leave no room to doubt that, between the parallels of 79° and 92° east longitude, the drainage on this side flows into lakes, some of which are connected and others isolated. Many of the lakes are like Tengri Nor near the watershed and consequently very elevated.

Next comes the drainage within the depression which we have already defined. From the southern side of the main northern watershed and from the northern side of the main southern watershed the chief tributaries of the Indus and the Brahmaputra are as follows:—

North.	(INDUS.)	South.
Basha Braldu		Astor
Shayok		Suru
		Zanskar
		Hanle
	(BRAHMAPUTRA.)	
Chachu		Shorta
Charta		Shakiadong Chu
Raka		Shaibgi Chu
Shiangchu		Painom Chu
Kichu		
†Gakochu		

The remaining drainage of the area under consideration is absorbed by lakes devoid of outlet, of which the Pangkong series, the Chomoriri and the Mansarowar are the most notable, or is carried away by the Sutlej and the Kurnali, which rise near the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, and by the Para, an affluent

* In the report of his first mission to Yarkund, Sir Douglas Forsyth wrote: "It is said that this river (the Tarym) flows into the Lake Lob or Lok Nor, but the general opinion expressed by all whom I asked was that it flowed into the great desert and is lost there." Later information, obtained during the sojourn of the second mission in Eastern Turkistan, leads to the conclusion that Lob is a succession of reedy lakes along the Tarym, ending in that which has the distinctive name of Lob Nor

amongst Europeans, and from which a river is said to go out to the south-east, across an immense desert of sand and salt. This river was called by Mirza Hyder the Kara Moran, and he believed it to flow to China. Even with the above information Captain Trotter, the geographer of the second mission, believes the lake of Lob to be somewhat mythical.

† Brian Hodgson's map, in Selections of the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXVII.

of the Sutlej. The head waters of the Sutlej pass from their springs on the north-east of Rakas Tal through that lake, but the stream is soon turned from its lateral course by the southern extremity of the snow-clad spur which runs from Hanle to a point south of Gartok, and again by the no less formidable obstacle of which Leo Porgyul is the front, the result being that it has been compelled to seek an outlet near Shipki at a point where a favourable dip on the southern watershed facilitated its escape. The position of the gigantic range of the Gurla Mandata has, in like manner, served to deflect the Kurnali towards the same watershed, the higher elevation of which in this quarter, nothing short of the Kurnali's rapid stream, with a *velocity nearly treble that of the swiftly flowing Sutlej, would have been able to overcome. We incline to the view that by force of impact a constantly progressing erosion took place on the part of the Sutlej and Kurnali, ending in the establishment of their existing waterways through the southern watershed. But the dips in each case may have been such as from the beginning to allow of a passage over and not to compel a cutting through this elevation. On such a hypothesis, however, we should have expected a greater width of channel at the point where the overflow began and for some distance beyond, or indications thereof at some antecedent period. In process of time the violence of the stream would wear a deep channel, and this action must be still going on. These breaks do not affect the delineation of the southern watershed in regard to the Indus and the Brahmaputra, to the valleys of which and of their affluents, be it remembered, we described it as the limit.

On the southern side of the main southern watershed are to be found the sources of the Kishengunga, Jhelum, Maru-Wudwan, Chandrabhaga, Spiti river, † Ganges, Kali or Sardah, Bheri, Buria

* The Brahmaputra flows from its source to Janglache (385 miles) with an average fall of about 5 feet a mile. Its great descent occurs in the 400 miles or so below Lhasa and above the plains of Assam, of which, to our sorrow, we know no more than Warren Hastings did.

The Indus flows to Leh (360 miles) with an average fall of about 18 feet a mile, and nearly the same average is maintained to Attock, a distance of 870 miles from its source.

The Sutlej flows to Shipki (210 miles) with an average fall of about 25 feet a mile, and for the full distance to Roopur (450 miles) at an average fall of nearly 32 feet a mile.

The Kurnali flows to Khojanath

(50 miles) with an average fall of about $69\frac{1}{2}$ feet a mile, to Banda (125 miles from the source), with an average fall of $86\frac{1}{2}$ feet a mile, and to Gola Ghat (215 miles from the source), with an average fall of 66 feet a mile. Between Khojanath and Banda, the section of greatest original resistance, the fall averages $97\frac{1}{2}$ feet per mile, or about 1 in 54.

† On the authority of Mr. Moorcroft, it was long believed that the feeder of the Ganges, named Jahnavi, flowed from the northern side of this watershed. Captain Strachey's personal investigation proved this to be a mistake. It is a pity that Mr. Brian Hodgson should have allowed this mistake to stand in a recent re-

Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck, Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu and Arun. Of these the Kishengunga, the Maru-Wudwan and Spiti river are comparatively soon merged in the Jhelum, the Chandrabhaga and the Sutlej. The united stream of the Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu, and Arun retains for some distance the name of the last, and afterwards when joined by rivers of more southern origin the collective name is the Kosi. It is because the Jhelum, Chandrabhaga, Sutlej, Ganges, Kali, Kurnali, Bheri, Buria Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck and Arun after a long course in every case intersect *the line of Mr. Markham's so-called southern chain, that we dispute the appropriateness in a geographical sense of the term chain or of any other term implying continuity.

The hydrography of the tract between the main southern watershed and the plains of India is of two types. On the west the main river is sooner developed and has a long course in the hills. To illustrate our meaning we may say that the Jhelum becomes what we call the main river, that is, it has no affluent with discharge at all corresponding to its own after the inflow of the Kishengunga. Up to the junction near Mozufferabad the main direction of both is westerly. From Mozufferabad the river has a course of more than a hundred miles almost due south before debouching on the plains above the town of Jhelum. The Chundra and the Bhaga unite their names and their streams at Tandi, and after a long north-westerly course the united stream is joined near Kishtwar by the Maru-Wudwan, its only important affluent, flowing from the north. Then follows a zigzag of about one hundred and twenty miles consisting of a long westerly stretch between two short southerly ones up to Aknoor, just above which town the river finally leaves the hills. The distance of the Sutlej from Namgia, where the Spiti river falls into it, to the edge of the plains at Roopur, is over two hundred miles, and in this part of its course it has no important feeder. The direction is west with a little south. Beyond, that is to the

print of an Essay written in 1846. (Compare Arrowsmith's map, illustrating Moorcroft's travels, Bengal Selection XXVII., p. 80. Brian Hodgson's Essays, Part ii, p. 27, Thornton's Gazetteer, pp. 318-319 and Walker's map of Turkistan, the Second Edition for choice, as the red line, indicative of the boundary between the British and Tibetan dominions, is more correctly given in that than in the Third Edition.)

* We understand Mr. Markham to draw his southern chain as fol-

lows :—

Pir Punjal Mountains
Bannihal Mountains
Kishtwar Mountains
Chumba Mountains
Rotang Pass
Jumnotri (or Gangotri ?)
Nanda Debi
Dwalagiri
Gosain Than
Kinchin Jinga
Chumalhari
Gemini.

east of the Sutlej, a change occurs, and we find a succession of southward-sloping mountain basins, broad at the top where they leave the watershed, and gradually contracting like a fan from its rim to its handle. These basins derive much of their water from certain prominent peaks, or groups of peaks, which standing in advance, that is southwards of the watershed, are connected with it, and from which ridges with dependent spurs project, that serve as lateral barriers to the basins. The preponderating synclinal slopes of the ridges and spurs, which overrule the effect of all other intervening inequalities of surface however vast, cause the several groups of mountain streams between them to converge till they unite and constitute a main river near the edge of the plains, whence, with but few subsequent additions, they roll their waters to their several junctions with the Ganges or Brahmaputra. The succession of lateral barriers and mountain basins is as follows:—

The converging ridges from Banderpoonch and Nundadebi cause the Bhagirathi and Aluknandi, previously reinforced by numerous intervening feeders, to unite and form the Ganges. The united waters before leaving the hills at Hurdwar are joined on the left bank by a considerable stream called the Nyar.

The spurs from the Nundadebi ridge, descending through Kumaon, and the ridge from the Api peak, similarly bring together the Kali, the Tatigar, the Sarjoo, the Ramgunga and other streams, whose united waters flow into the plains near Burmdeo as the Sardah.

The Api ridge and a ridge to the west of Dwalagiri, connected with the latter mountain by a spur, in like manner influence the basin of the Kurnali, which shortly before it reaches the plains near Golaghat is joined by two affluents, the Seti and the Bheri, almost as important as itself in the accumulation of water from other mountain streams which they bring. This basin vies with that of the Kosi in the width of country which it drains.

From the Dwalagiri spur, and others depending on the same ridge as it to the Gosain Than ridge, which runs almost down to Katmandoo, extends the basin of the Sapt-Gandiki, a Nepalese term for the country drained by * *the Barigar*, the Narainee or Kali Ganduck, *the Setigunga or Budh Ganduck*, *the Marsiangdi*, *the Daramdi*, the Buria Ganduck and the Trisool Ganduck. The outlet for the united waters is at Tribeni Ghat.

The Nepalese also credit the basin of the Kosi with a septet of chief feeders, and call the country so drained the Sapt-Kosiki. The short spur from the Gosain Than ridge on the one side and the lengthy barrier running from Bhomtso to Kinchin Jinga and con-

* The italics in this and the next paragraph indicate the streams of lower origin.

tinued in the Singale La range determine the area of this basin. The seven streams are *the Milamchi or Indrawati, the Bhotia Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi, the Dudh Kosi, the Arun, and the Tamru*. The union of all is only achieved just above the plains near Bara Chetr.

An important but secondary part is played in the water system of the tract under consideration by rivers, having their origin more to the south, yet far within the hills, which we have not yet named. The long westerly courses of the Chandrabhaga and the Sutlej necessitate means of escape for most of the drainage of the mountains to the south of them, and this exists in the Ravee and the Beas. The Jumna in like manner makes up for the want of important tributaries to the Sutlej in its long westerly stretch. In the country beyond, that is to the east, are the triangular spaces intervening between the successive basins, widest between the points or apexes of the inverted deltas to which we may liken the basins, and forming the complement of those deltas. The space between the Ganges and the Kurnali basins is drained by the Ramgunga and the Kosila, that between the Kurnali and the Ganduck basins is drained by the Babai and Rapti, that between the Ganduck and the Kosi basins by the Bagmutty.

To the east of the Bhomtso-cum-Singale La range the southern drainage is no longer to the Ganges but to the Brahmaputra. The water system of Sikkim, entering the plains as the Teesta, resembles those of Kumaon and Nepal, though the area of the mountain basin is less extensive. The barrier on the east is the range from the Dankia Pass to the Jelep La. Of the country to the north-east of this range too little is known to admit of a decisive opinion. Our impression is that the southern watershed of the Indo-Tibetan system will be found to run from the Laghulung La to the lakes above Chumalhari, thus separating the head waters of the Arun and the Teesta from those of the Painomchu, and to be continued from those lakes to the neighbourhood of Yamdokcho, and thence in such a line—east with a little south—as causes it, in accordance with its previous practice, to give northwards short feeders to the Brahmaputra, of which the Yalung has been determined by Pundit Nain Singh's last journey, and to throw off southwards the headwaters of the rivers which enter Assam as the Monas and Subanseri. The same explorer has completed the evidence of the deltaic character of the Monas in the mountains, and eventual proof of this character for the Subanseri may with some reason be expected. Between the Teesta and Monas basins the drainage of Bhootan is carried away by the Pachuchinchu and Gungadhur rivers, which have separate courses through the plains to the Brahmaputra.

So much in respect of Mr. Markham's three parallel chains.

As regards other supposed points of resemblance* we would urge for his consideration whether the Illimani and Sorato peaks are not a little in advance of the real eastern watershed of the Central Andes, as we have shown to be the case with so many high peaks of the Himalaya, and as Mr. Keith Johnston's drawing suggests. If so, the real Cordillera is the lower range nearer to the two lakes of Titicaca and Huallagas and their connecting river, the peaks are off-shoots of it, and the line of continuity

* "Warren Hastings was the first to notice the striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya after perusing the work of M. de la Condamine. The analogy between the two great mountain masses of the old and new world is indeed most remarkable. Both consist of three parallel chains. In both great rivers have their sources in the inner chain, and force their way through the other two. The *cuesta* (ridge) of La Raya, separating the valley of the Vilcamayu from the basin of Titicaca, is the counterpart of the Mariam la Saddle dividing the basin of the Sutlej from the valley of the Brahmaputra. In both systems numerous rivers rise in the central Cordillera, and after lateral courses between the two, eventually force a way through the outer chain. The southern Himalaya bears an exact analogy to the outer Andes, which rise from the valley of the Amazon. Both have a low range at their feet, enclosing valleys or dhuns; both have deep gorges, separated by lofty ridges, which are spurs from a main chain of culminating snowy peaks; and in both several rivers rise in an inner central range, and force their way through profound ravines between the culminating summits. The rivers Mapiri and Chuqui-apu (Keith Johnston's Bogpi) pierce the Cordillera, flowing through chasms in beds 18,000 feet below the snowy peak of Illimani, which almost overhangs one them. Yet no one maintains that the 'Cordillera Real de los Andes' is not a chain of mountains. The analogy between the land of the Yucas and the plateau of Tibet may be carried still further. In both the staple produce is wool

yielded by llamas, alpacas and vicuñas in Peru, and by sheep and shawl goats in Tibet. In both the beasts of burden are llamas, or sheep needing a wide area of pasturage, and consequently numerous passes on their journeys, in order that a profitable trade may be carried on with the low country. Both abound in the precious metals. In both the people cultivate hardy cereals, and species of chenopodium, called quinoa in Peru and battu in Tibet. The people, too, have many beliefs and customs in common, down to that of heaping up huge piles of stones on the crests of mountain passes; and the Tibetan in actuated by the same feeling when he mutters his *Om mani pudmi hum* as the Peruvian, when, on passing a heap of stones, he bows and reverentially exclaims, *Apachicta muchhani*.

"The analogy pointed out by Warren Hastings, and which I have ventured to carry a little further, strikingly suggests the importance of taking a comprehensive view of such questions as those of the physical structure of a great mountain range, or of the best means of establishing commercial intercourse between inhabitants of a lofty plateau difficult of access and those of tropical valleys separated by snowy mountains. If the frightful gorges of the Andes did not prevent the Yucas from exchanging the products of the Sierras for the coca of the Montanas, there is nothing that a wise policy may not overcome to hinder the Lamas of Tibet and the rulers of India from establishing a friendly interchange of commodities between the lofty plateaus of the one and the fertile tropical valleys of the other." (Markham, pp. xl-xlii).

remains unbroken. Tibet and the valleys of the Andes being alike at a high elevation, it follows in the ordinary course of nature that their soil should produce hardy cereals. The heaping of stones on the crests of passes is a common practice in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Constant repetition of Om mani pudme hum is the habit of the orthodox Tibetan, and the only place at which he shows more than ordinary zeal in the monotonous work is when he passes, as he constantly does, one of those long walls known as *Manis*, which are covered with flat stones bearing the sacred inscription. The Peruvian, on the contrary, when he has reached the top of a pass, says the equivalent to "Thank God the worst of my journey is over," just as * Mr. Grove's porters did on the watershed of the Caucasus. So far as Tibetan and Peruvian invoke the deity there is something in common in their phrases, but that is all. The difference is that the latter utters a single ejaculation, because he has accomplished the ascent, whilst the former, on the pass as anywhere else, goes on repeating a prayer which it is the daily work of his life to repeat.

It is a mistake to say that Warren Hastings noticed a "striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya." What Warren Hastings noticed was a striking analogy between Tibet and the valley of Quito, the one being in his opinion probably the highest land in the old, as the other "is the highest land in the new Continent." Either Warren Hastings had not heard of or ignored the existence of the much higher valley of Desaguadero. In either case the omission shows that his comparison was more limited than that which Mr. Markham attributes to him. Lastly, in his argument that by establishing identity of physical structure in the case of two elevated countries he is justified in predicating for the one the commercial results of the other, Mr. Markham has overlooked the fact that, even if other things were the same, which they are not, the South American tract has a more genial climate owing to its greater proximity to the sea and the equator and greater advantages in the way of water-carriage by the nearness of the Pacific on the one side, and the head waters of the Amazon on the other.

When in doubt use dots is an axiom wisely accepted by official map-makers in this country. Mr. Markham writes that possibly some of the feeders of the Monas and Subanseri rise on the southern side of his central chain, the general direction of which differs little from that of our southern main watershed. Yet in his general map he draws the feeders comparatively close to the right bank of the Brahmaputra as though he had no doubt on the subject. The extension eastwards of the Kuen Luen mountains, about which

* The *Frosty Caucasus*, page 86.

Colonel Walker is judiciously silent, and the physical features of the country between Lhasa and the western boundary of China are also drawn with a degree of detail which the available materials hardly warrant. It is well to remember that it was not the Jesuits employed by the Chinese Emperor Kanghi, but two Tibetan priests, who surveyed eastern Tibet in 1717. Mr. Markham says that they were carefully trained by the Jesuits, and that their orders were to survey from Sining to Lhasa and thence to the sources of the Ganges. The Jesuits then in China were Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, and perhaps Bouvet still. The results of the Lamas' enquiries, which, considering the time and distance, could not be otherwise than superficial, were embodied in the maps of China and its dependencies, which were completed by the Jesuit fathers in 1718, and from which d'Anville constructed his "*Carte generale du Thibet ou Bouttan et des Pays de Kashgar et Hami.*" Their maps were afterwards corrected by Hallerstein, d'Arocha and Espinha, whose survey of Turkistan, undertaken by order of the Emperor Tsianlun from 1755 to 1759, extended as far west as Tashkurghan and northward to the valley of the 'Talas. Sir Henry Rawlinson has not a high opinion of their accuracy. As they worked by way of Dzungaria it is possible that they never were near that part of the country to which Mr. Markham has so confidently extended the Kuen Luen eastwards. The exact course of their wanderings is unknown, as no account of their journey is extant. In 1833 neither the height, position nor direction of the Kuen Luen was accurately known. Since that time, so far as we are aware, nothing more authentic has been learnt than the experience of the Tibetan explorer of 1871-72, that as far as he could see from a commanding position near Tengri Nor there were no high peaks to the north, and the statement of Lamas who lived on the spot that the country to the north was very much the same as that around the lake. As regards eastern Tibet, Huc and Gabet travelled from the Great Wall to Lhasa and back to China by Szchuen in 1844-46, but unfortunately they had no eye for country. Klaproth is not to be trusted. Mr. T. T. Cooper, who approached from the side of China, was never allowed to cross the border. Mr. Markham himself admits that "Kam is still almost entirely unknown," and that "no real additions were made to our knowledge of Great Tibet, supplied by M. d'Anville's maps, until Colonel Montgomerie's explorers penetrated into that country," and still he draws mountains and rivers in Kam where Colonel Montgomerie's explorers have never been, with as much decision as though he had ample information to work upon.

From the resuscitation of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers and his own efforts to explain the physical and political geography

of Nepal, Bhootan and Tibet, Mr. Markham hopes to see a policy initiated which shall have for its aim "the establishment of unfettered intercourse through all the Himalayan passes from the Kali to the Dihong." The first step which he inculcates is to take advantage of Mr. Edgar's road up to the Jelep La for an exploration of the Chumbi Valley and a visit of English officers to Pbari: the second is to be a commercial mission to Lhasa and Shigatze. There are also to be negotiations with Peking and a lecture to the Gorkhali Government to refrain from keeping the Tibetans in terror of war, as it is said to have done for more than a century past. A charming instance is this of the pot calling the kettle black, for the Gorkhals get quite as alarmed sometimes as the Tibetans, and not always without reason. The result of the above "broadly-conceived and continuous policy" is to be a trade of momentous importance. Has the lesson which Sir Douglas* Forsyth tardily learnt during his second mission and with more cautious associates no meaning for Mr. Markham, or has he been lending too willing an ear to the mercantile clique in the North of England? We cannot forget that influence from this quarter compelled Sir John

* To the end of 1873 Sir Douglas Forsyth made light of the difficulties of the road, over-estimated the population of Eastern Turkistan, and believed in the possibility of an extensive British trade across the Himalaya. He had then been once and Mr. Shaw twice to Yarkund. The latter was his companion in the first mission. His report from Kashgar, dated February 2nd, 1874 (Supplement to *Gazette of India*, April 18th 1874) is the first indication of a change of opinion. The views of his companions on the second occasion are as follows: "With the Kashgar Government the goods of the British trader up to a certain limit will, so far as appearances indicate, find a ready market, if not with the local merchants; because cotton prints, muslins, broad cloths, silks, &c., are in great demand for the troops and officials amongst whom they are distributed by way of presents and in lieu of pay.

"With the people the wares usually brought by Russian traders, such as brass candlesticks, iron cauldrons and other hard-ware, with tea and some coarse cotton prints of peculiar pattern, promise to keep the favour

they at present enjoy.

"As to the comparative facilities for transit on the opposite sides, I can say nothing more than that if they are as great on the north as they are on the south, the competitors will have a fair field for their peaceful rivalry; and that too over as hard and wearying a bit of ground as is nowhere else to be found." (Dr. Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 386-7.)

"The stout cotton cloths of Eastern Turkistan are well known for their durability in the markets of Badakshan and Russian Turkistan beyond the Thian-Shan; and there is a steady export trade in them from Kashgar, Yarkund and Khoten. The only foreign cotton goods that find a sale in Eastern Turkistan are the fine kinds, and muslin chintzes and prints, the manufacture of which is not yet understood, but the demand for these is limited by being beyond the means of the mass of the population. This fact should, I think, settle the question of any important market in that part of Central Asia for Manchester goods." (Colonel Gordon's *Roof of the World*, p. 51.)

Lawrence's Government to re-open the question of a survey for a railway to western China, against their better-informed judgment, and with the expensive result of showing that their objections were right. We cannot ignore the unreasonableness of later demands which the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have made with respect to their interests in the East. We cannot overlook the fact that these commercial gentlemen never risk a farthing of their own money in endeavouring to ascertain whether their belief in an extensive demand for their goods in Turkistan and Tibet is well-founded or not. Our own reading of history and geography leads us to an entirely opposite conclusion to that of Mr. Markham. If by unfettered intercourse is meant an abandonment by the intermediate States of their customs duties, we may expect to see this result achieved when the British Government has abandoned its own sea customs. If the epithet refers to improved means of communication, we can only express our surprise at the advocacy of a plan for making highways to a country which is little better than a wilderness; for, as we have shown, the western passes of Nepal only lead to uplands scantily inhabited by nomad tribes. The least impracticable route, because it is the longest in territory either British or under British control and the shortest in independent territory, because it serves the least sparsely occupied part of Tibet, and because on this side it may be improved at a not immoderate expense, is that which leads to the Jelep La. If the Indian Government is wise it will content itself with the establishment of a depôt in the neighbourhood of the pass where Indian and Tibetan traders may meet and learn whether their respective countries have still any important wants which they can mutually satisfy. Their self-interest will accomplish more than costly English missions, and any development due to their exertions will, we believe, be small. To those who wish to study the progress of a much-vaunted and much-pushed Trans-Himalayan trade we recommend a careful perusal of the annual reports* of the British Commissioner at Leh. We regret

* From the Supplements to the *Gazette of India* for August 8th, 1874 and September 18th, 1875, we learn that the yearly totals of the trade through Ladak are as follows.—

	Co.'s Rs.
1863 ...	2,36,040
1864-66 ...	1,00,000
1867 ...	5,54,945
1868 ...	10,38,401
1869 ...	12,91,587
1870 ...	15,48,000
1871 ...	12,41,177

1872 ...	15,84,800
1873 ...	17,76,729
1874 ...	26,30,932

These figures, as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab (Sir H. Davies) has for the last two years represented, are likely to mislead, for the imports and exports which constitute the trade are the same goods, and so the value of the trade is only about half the totals shown. A further reduction has also to be made for the cross trade between Cashmere and Chanthang,

that we have not the figures to indicate at what outlay the comparatively insignificant results quoted below have been attained, but on the strength of the internal evidence which Sir Douglas Forsyth's report supplies, we doubt whether his last mission cost much less than four lacs of rupees. Possibly political advantages have been gained which are well worth the money, though it is difficult to reconcile such a supposition with the frequent assurance that the several missions were for commercial purposes only, just as it is difficult to understand how, in connection with the crucial question of the relations of England and Russia in the East, the country of Eastern Turkistan should be regarded as within the sphere of the former's influence. Under certain circumstances influence implies support, and it is a physical impossibility that the Indian Government should give the Ameer Yacoob Beg the only support which he would value if Russia made an unprovoked attack on him. The geographical results are most valuable. But so numerous a body of English officers would never have been deputed for the sole purpose of connecting the British and Russian surveys on the Chadir Kul or of finding out the Pamir puzzle. It is, with the commercial aspect of the question that, following Mr. Markham's lead, we have specially concerned ourselves, and on that score what has been proved true of Eastern Turkistan may be prophesied of the less favourable circumstances of Tibet—*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*

which is included in these returns. The trade of Turkistan for the last three years is thus shown :—

	1872.	1873.	1874.
Imports from Turkistan to Leh ...	3,21,763	3,30,690	3,81,802
Exports from Leh to Turkistan ...	3,67,940	2,55,660	8,02,563
	6,89,703	5,86,350	11,84,365

The great increase of 1874 was chiefly due to the exportation of the previous year's goods to the value of

Rs 1.50,000 left behind in Leh owing to difficulties about carriage, and to the abnormal addition of Mr. Russell's venture, the value of which was over Rs. 3,00,000, and which consisted of expensive fabrics and firearms, for which the British Commissioner at Leh (Captain Molloy) was far from anticipating a ready sale. Our private information and the fact that Mr. Russell had to leave an assistant in Turkistan, whilst he himself returned to India, confirm the accuracy of this view.

ART. VII.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN NORTH-ERN INDIA.

1.—*Our Land Revenue Policy.* By C. J. Connell, Esq., B.C.S.

2.—*The "Pioneer Newspaper,"* 1876.

IN our last number Mr. Connell's writings were ably reviewed and some of their defects pointed out from the N. W. P. point of view, by a well-known and respected expert. And we now propose to offer some remarks upon them from the point of view of those who were responsible for, and took part in, the revised land settlement of the Province of Oudh, and with whom the author in question has such general fault to find.

Mr. Connell mournfully dwells on the causes which have led, and are daily leading to the transfer of land, from the old hereditary to new proprietors, and on the faulty arrangements of the British Government which have added to their embarrassments and hastened on their ruin. The revenue demand, he says, has been enhanced at the regular settlement from 50 to 100 per cent., and in numerous instances the Government share is more than half the rental. In support of his views as to the impoverished condition of the peasantry, he quotes the high authority of the Chief Commissioner, as set forth in page 45, Oudh Revenue Report of 1873.

In common with our North-West reviewer we are much indebted to Mr. Connell for the freshness and vigour with which he has treated a well-worn subject, and we acknowledge the service he has rendered in pointing out numerous blots; but he has said many things in the course of his writings which he will live to regret, and to a general refutation of some of these we propose to devote the present paper.

The causes that lead to the transfer of property everywhere are almost as numerous as the properties transferred. But those that are most common in India may be summed up thus. (1) Incapacity to manage land profitably; (2) imprudence and extravagance in marriages and ceremonies and licentiousness; (3) quarrelsomeness and litigation; (4) unsuccessful speculation. In the presence of these and the endless other prevailing reasons for indebtedness connected more or less with them, all leading up to the inevitable transfer of hereditary property, it is neither altogether just, nor is it financially nor politically wise, to assign maladministration and over-assessment on the part of former British officers, as the most prominent if not the only causes for

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such transfers. In criticising the work of our predecessors we are laying ourselves open to the charge of being wise after the event, and we can therefore never be too careful to remember that, from the point of view of their day, the motives for their proceedings were probably as unexceptionable as our own.

It requires but little intelligence or experience to discover that transfers of land will neither be stopped nor materially lessened, by the simple and easy process of relinquishing a still larger portion than we now do, of the Government share of the produce of the land. From the earliest days of Muhammadan rule the tiller of the soil lived a hand-to-mouth life, the main revenue principle of our predecessors having been that the agriculturist and his family were entitled to food and nominal clothing, but that all the rest of the produce belonged to the State.*

The earlier British settlements were made leaving to the owners no more than a tenth of the assumed rental. In more modern times this share was increased to a third, and in our own day to a half. But while the British Government has done so much for the people by relinquishing so large a share of its dues, and notwithstanding the efforts that for the last 20 years we have been making to discourage transfers, it is obvious that we have failed in preventing or mitigating them, they are still as numerous as ever; and it may therefore with truth be argued that they are in no degree due to the share that the Government takes of the rental, nor are they to be diminished by its reduction or relinquishment. All good landlords, unfortunately they are the minority, find in half the rental enough and to spare, and the other half they treat as a sacred trust, which must be set aside for the purposes of the State. But the larger majority of land owners are unfortunately *not* good; they mistake benevolent extravagance for good works; their leading principle is "base is the slave who pays;" and to the end of time such men will give up 5 per cent. even of the assumed rental to the State, with just as ill a grace and with very little less trouble to collect, than they now surrender 50.

The real practical test of an assessment is the selling price of land. Where there is over-assessment purchasers cannot be found, and land is a drug in the market; such was within our own knowledge formerly the case in several parts of the Allahabad division. But this is by no means the case in any portion of Oudh of which we have had experience; land is keenly sought after, and although it is under the periodical settlement system, it fetches a price equal to that for which it can be bought in the permanently settled parts of the Jounpore district, or, say, sixteen

* See Trevor Plowden on the Begam Sumrú's Settlement.

years' purchase. If proof be required of the fact that transfers are really not materially affected by the rate at which the Government demand is fixed, it may be mentioned that transfers have been much more common in Jounpore, where Mr. Jonathan Duncan's pepper-corn revenue rates prevail, than they have been in the neighbouring districts of Oudh, where over-assessment has been so vehemently alleged. Mr. Connell has been particular to bestow exceptional praise on the Partabgarh assessment for its moderation; yet there are few, if any, Oudh districts in which voluntary transfers have been more numerous. It can also with truth be affirmed, that the worst managed estates in the country are those the revenues of which the Government has assigned away (*muafies*), which proves that a moderate Government demand is no more than a wholesome stimulus to industry.

To those who have taken an intelligent interest in the revenue administration of the Province since it was annexed, it must be as clear as day that, taken as a whole, it has from the first been leniently dealt with, and where the revision did, after many years, take place, it was most moderately effected. When we took over the Province we found the revenue system of Akbar in full force, under which the gross produce was annually, or, at any rate, for a Nazim's term of office, roughly estimated by the Pargana officers (*canúngos*), the share allowed to the proprietor (called *nankar*) was then deducted, and the balance was the nominal revenue of the State. The general demoralization of the native government, and its utter inability to control its establishments, led to the overthrow of the dynasty; and in no branch had the demoralization been more directly felt, than in the realization of the revenue, which, as Sleeman tells us, had fearfully fallen away. The *Nazims* and *Canúngos* were in the last degree corrupt, and the landowners either lived in open rebellion, or by unblushing dalliance with corruption. In February 1856, when things were at their very worst, we took over the administration. We called on the old corrupt *Canúngos* to furnish us lists of the Government demand; and these, such as they were, were speedily given in. Time did not admit of any effective scrutiny, and so the summary assessment of the revenue, which was avowedly fixed for three years only, was then made by simply assessing the demand at half the assets as ascertained from these miserably unsatisfactory lists.

Instead, however, of the stipulated three years, the absurdly inadequate demand with which we contented ourselves in 1856, has been allowed to run on over the Province, for periods ranging from 5 to 20 years. In the interval the assessment of the 12 districts has been revised by men of more or less experience, supervised by officers of established ability, such as Sir Charles

Wingfield, Sir John Strachey, and Sir Henry Davies, in accordance with the principles that now usually guide such operations. It is the contention of Mr. Connell that this has been badly done, and that the enhancement of revenue, which ranges from 50 to 100 per cent., has been excessive. Far be it from us to say that the Oudh assessments are faultless, or that mistakes have not been committed; but that they have erred in the direction of rack-renting, we are not for a moment prepared to admit. Such as they were, they were at least made by men of greater experience and with much more deliberation than were the revisions of them, which have since, as we think, very unadvisedly and inartistically been carried out. There is also some consolation in knowing that, if the Oudh settlement men have failed, so also have C. H. Crosthwaite, C. A. Elliott, and all other settlement men, in all other places, down to the time when the existing staff undertook the revision of Faizabad, when things changed for the better. The percentage of rise according to the Revenue Report for 1871-72, before it had occurred to any one to consider revisions necessary in the 12 districts, is shown on the margin,* giving

Lucknow	...	25	per cent.
Unao	...	10	"
Bara Banki	...	46½	"
Sitapur	...	46½	"
Hardui	...	47½	"
Kheri	...	133½	"
Faizabad	...	39½	"
Bahraich	...	88½	"
Gondah	...	65½	"
Rai Bareilly	...	26	"
Sultanpore	...	36½	"
Partabgarh	...	36½	"

a provincial average rise of 46 per cent. Before it can be argued that these percentages of rise are extortionate, it must be shown that the summary assessments, based on the Canúngo's lists already referred to, were absolutely correct; that they were not so, does not admit of argument. What, may we ask, is the use of going to the expense

of a scientific and field survey, and of ascertaining the capabilities of every single village, nay field, if after all, the main consideration which is to regulate our assessment is the past payments, right or wrong, of the landowners, under the corrupt native or the indifferently informed British rule?

It is of course true that the excessive incomes that land-owners have been wrongfully enjoying for all these years, have been considerably though not suddenly reduced, for the process took years to accomplish; but that does not seem a sufficient reason to assign for perpetuating a griveous wrong. As well might a high-salaried Indian official assign reduction of income on retirement as a reason for demanding a larger pension than the existing rules allowed. Seeing the fuss that has been made about a rise which, in the aggregate, fell short at the first revision of 40 per cent. throughout the district, what will be said when we mention that at the first revision of assessment of the adjoining Gorakpur district, by one of the best of our past revenue officers,

E. A. Reade, at whose honored feet the writer learned his early revenue lessons, a rise was throughout obtained of 350 per cent. and that without a murmur! The cultivated area of Oudh increased largely during the summary settlement, and the prices of produce have also very materially risen. But is all this to be over-looked? and instead of assessing fairly on the well-ascertained capabilities of to-day, are we to continue to relinquish the long-established share of the State, for no better reason than that, when we were in a hurry 20 years ago, we allowed the Canúngos to gull us as to what should then have been the Government demand? The fact really is, that if the revenue rate of to-day could be compared with the revenue rate of Akbar or Saádat Ali or any other former native potentate of fiscal repute, the moderation of the British assessments would be established beyond cavil. We happen to have before us a list of 40 Faizabad villages at this moment, the King's demand from which was Rs. 57,435. Our own revised demand, after a decade of peace, was only Rs. 56,937. In evidence of the moderation of the demand much can of course be said.

Acre for acre Faizabad, which has 617 souls to the square mile, and which is only exceeded in population (which of course means rent and revenue producing power) by two Oudh districts, viz., Lucknow and Bara Banki, pays a lower revenue rate

* Districts.	RATE PER ACRE					
	Cultivated			Malgúzari		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Lucknow	2	6	4	1	11	7
Unao	2	5	10	1	9	6
Bara Banki	2	4	7	1	15	1
Rai Bareli	2	6	4	1	10	0
Sultanpore	2	2	9	1	9	10
Partabgurh	2	3	3	1	0	9

on cultivated and *malgúzari* area than any district in the Lucknow and Rai Bareli divisions, as shown on the margin.* Moreover a dozen Parganas or so of the adjoining Azimgarh district (N.-W.P.), have now been assessed; the average rate on cultivation falling at Rs. 2-4-6 per acre. Compare that with

our rate Rs. 2-0-5, and the result unmistakably points at a moderate rating here. The rise in most of the completed Azimgarh Parganas ranges from 29 to 33 per cent.; all are given on the margin,† and this, it will be remembered, is not the first revision there, as ours was here, and which almost always gives a higher rise than those revisions that follow.

† Pargunnah Sagri	...	32
Do. Nizamabad	...	32
Do. Deogaon	...	6
Do. Belha Bans	...	13
Do. Kouria	...	29
Do. Atraulia	...	17
Do. Gopalpur	...	33
Do. Chiriakat	}	31
Do. Keriati Mitee		
Do. Mahul		

Our percentages of rise in the Parganas, Tehsils, and district,

†	TEHSIL.	PARGUNNAHS.	Per cent. of rise.		
			Rs.	As.	P.
I	Dostpur	Aldemañ ...	41	5	0
		Surharpur ...	51	0	0
		Majhowra ...	23	13	0
		Total ...	41	11	0
II	Akberpur	Akberpur ...	48	0	0
		Berhar ...	59	8	0
		Tanda Ultifatgunj ...	29	0	0
		Total ...	49	0	0
III	Faizabad	Umtina ...	55	11	0
		Puchimrath ...	33	0	0
		Haveli—Oudh ...	28	0	0
		Mungulsi ...	22	13	0
		Total ...	32	11	0
IV	Bhirtipur	Isawli ...	27	15	0
		Sultanpur ...	34	1	0
		Khundasa ...	70	4	0
		Total ...	38	10	0
		Percentage on District	39	13	0

are exhibited on the margin.† This table shows not only that the rise comparatively speaking, was nothing out of the way, but also that, in the two Tehsils where precipitancy and largeness of rise are sometimes urged, the new *jamas* were years later in being introduced, and the rise was considerably smaller when finally collected, than it was in the earlier, and what are supposed to be, the more deliberately assessed Parganas. Under our strong and peaceful rule, tyranny and

spoliation have come to an absolute end, and the husbandman is now sure of all the fruits of his labor, to which fact it is in no small degree due that agriculture is much more sought after as an occupation than it used to be when, by the force of circumstances, every man lived by the sword; the result of course is greatly extended cultivation, and the money that formerly went to bribe the King's officials, or to pay an army of idle henchmen to fight them, now remains in the landowner's pocket, all of which circumstances seem to us to tell strongly against the theory that our rule has in any degree tended to impoverish the peasantry.

It is no doubt true that under the native rule a large portion of the provincial population found ill-paid, but idle and not unpleasant existence near their homes, in the various civil and military establishments, and such occupation is not now open to them; but the question we have emphatically to put is, *will that blank be supplied and these people be made happy for ever, by a mere reduction of 10 or even 20 per cent. of the Government demand?* We trow not; and that the position of over-crowded village communities, and it is these that are always presenting themselves to the sympathizing mind's eye, would not be materially improved, for they would still be over-crowded and ill-off, as

before, the even if Government were to forego every rupee of its just demand!

In the circumstances it is simply Quixotic to hope to make dense proprietary populations what we call *comfortable*, by merely trifling with, and frittering away the time-honored dues of the State. As an instance of this tendency, we may mention a case in which it was alleged that no attention had been paid to the great number of co-sharers, when the village was assessed. This, as a fact, was not the case; and the relief afforded on this baseless assertion, was to allow a reduction of revenue which, when distributed, gave to each co-sharer just 3 annas per annum.

We have already referred to a para of an Oudh report quoted approvingly by Mr. Connell, in which the following remarkable sentences occur:—

“The Chief Commissioner is, however, quite satisfied of one thing, and it is this:—It is a question which admits of no tinkering. It is no use lifting up our hands in horror and dismay and calling for reports, and uttering platitudes about the land passing out of the hands of the ancient race. We must either accept the situation, or alter our system of Government altogether, for it is that system which has called this state of things into existence and is perpetuating it. It is owing to our system that the thousands who formerly aided the soil with their earnings sent from afar are now living on it a dead burden, where they were formerly an active support. It is owing to our system that girls are reared in hundreds, not only to be so many mouths to feed, but to involve their fathers in still deeper debt to meet their marriage expenses. It is owing to our system that men are no longer allowed to kill each other by scores in agrarian quarrels, that the march of famine and epidemic disease is checked, that quinine is being brought to the door of every fever-stricken sufferer, and that in every district there are sanitary measures in progress, which have for their object the mitigation of disease, and the prevention of death. Owing to the operation of all these causes, the population which have only the land to look to for their support are annually becoming more and more numerous. The consequences are not difficult to foresee; when the land cannot yield more than is sufficient for the mouths dependent on its produce, it follows that there is nothing left wherewith to meet the demands of the State, which claims one-half of the rental, or any other demand.

“Consequently, from whatever quarter the demand is made, the people are unable to meet it, and the land which is the security for the claim must be transferred in satisfaction of what is due upon it.

“Such, the Chief Commissioner repeats, is the inevitable result

"of the present system of administration. So long as the people
"adhere to their old habits and prejudices; so long as they put
"no sort of restraint on the indulgence of their several instincts;
"so long as they consider it creditable to ruin themselves on the
"expenses of a daughter's marriage; so long, in short, as the leo-
"pard does not change his spots,—it is the business of higher
"authority to determine whether the blessings of our rule counter-
"balance its disadvantages. But it is certain we cannot give a
"country all the benefits of civilization and allow the dwellers
"therein at the same time those advantages which they derived
"from being in a state of semi-barbarism."

Startling truths are undoubtedly here presented to the philan-
thropic mind, but we are prone to believe that there is another
side to the picture. With every desire to do full justice to our
well-meant, if unpopular medical and sanitary measures, it is
questionable if they have yet had, or in the time of those now
living will have, any appreciable influence on the numbers of the
rural population of Oudh. One of the results of our system
has been the reclamation of lakhs of acres of waste-land, which
is now producing food, the influence of which has been, or is now
being, abundantly felt in Orissa, in the North-Western Provinces,
in Bombay, or wherever during the last 20 years, famine has
devastated the land.

During native rule not a *chitak* of food-grain was allowed to
leave the province; but the export returns show that between the
years 1870 and 1874, the average annual value of grain exported
from Oudh was Rs. 1,11,36,769. Another result of our rule has
been to add indigo and sugarcane and opium, things which from in-
security were not formerly grown, to the valuable staples of the
Province; and what this means may be understood by the circum-
stance that our average annual expenditure, between 1870-71 and
1874-75 in the production of opium alone was Rs. 19,40,116, that
for the current year alone being no less than Rs. 37,81,166. Public
Works expenditure was a thing formerly unknown to rural Oudh;
our average annual expenditure under this head during the same
five years was Rs. 14,69,202, and this did not include the very
large expenditure during that time on the construction of rail-
ways. We are only in possession of figures for a fourth of the
Province in regard to remittances, and from these we gather the
following results. Sepoys' remittances into that area during the
year 1875, amounted to Rs. 45,487; multiply that by 4, the
number of Commissionerships, and at the same rate the sepoy re-
mittances into the Province would be Rs. 1,81,928; but inas-
much that some districts are less populous than others, a lac and
a half would be a fair figure to estimate from this source. Again,
the receipts from money orders in the same area for the same

year, amount to Rs. 3,58,929. This would give Rs. 14,35,716 for the Province, so we estimate this item as low as 12 lacs. Strange though it may seem, parcels containing rupees packed in cloth and tin are daily sent through the rural post offices in large numbers. The parcels that reached the above area, in the year already mentioned, and the great mass of which contained rupees, were no fewer than 7,826. We happen to know of a batch of such parcels being opened, and they contained an average of Rs. 9 each: we may therefore be well within the mark in estimating the receipts in this way at 2 lacs. Totalling all these large items, we come to the knowledge that, as a set-off against the sole item of former receipts from beyond the province during native rule, *viz.*, the family remittances of British sepoys, *plus* the savings of the king's sepoys, who were irregularly and badly paid, we have entering and circulating in Oudh under British rule, as above set forth, an annual average sum of Rs. 1,79,37,137, a sum much more than equal to the whole land revenue of the Province, which, by the report for 1871-72, before revisions of the assessments commenced, was Rs. 1,48,99,806 only; and this without estimating, (1) remittances in currency notes; (2) *mahajans' hundis*, and (3) cash brought with them from afar by persons returning from service to their homes.* If landowners are now put to greater expense on account of their daughters being preserved from infanticide and *sutti*, they have as a material, not to mention the moral, set-off, the money saved by exemption from the payment of black mail, and the decreased cost of wages of military retainers and munitions of war, besides the saving effected by their property being protected from plunder. The saying, *jis ka jamin oska karja*, dates from long before the British advent, and amounts to this; that all landowners are in debt. In Europe, where no land revenue has to be paid at all, the majority of the smaller proprietors are much in the same plight. But all this, and constant assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, the people of Oudh are prosperous and happy, the impost of the State has been moderately assessed upon them, and if it were to be reduced to-morrow to the full extent even of Mr. Connell's amiable desire, the measure, we believe, would not benefit 5, or at the outside 10 per cent. of the rural families of the Province.

From the series of articles to which we have referred at the

* On a late visit to Calcutta the writer was surprised by the Jemadar of the Hotel where he was staying claiming acquaintance with him. He is a Partabgarh man, and assured the writer that there are at least a thousand of his brethren in the employ of the Agra Bank, National Bank, Mackenzie Lyall, the Great Eastern Hotel, and other establishments, drawing from Rs. 7 to Rs. 20 per mensem.

head of this paper we make the following quotations, as they embrace many of the charges that have from time to time been made against Oudh assessments in general, and those of Faizabad in particular, with which for ten years the writer was so intimately connected.

"In addition to the mischievous innovations in the mutual relations of land-owner and sub-holder, which European legislation has introduced, and which have undeniably contributed in no small degree to the failure of the revenue administration in Oudh, there are other causes connected intimately with the injudicious action of the settlement department in respect to the preparation of the record of rights and the fixation of the land tax, which have, in their turn, added considerably to the present difficulties of the local administration. It is impossible to arrive at a just appreciation of existing Oudh embarrassments without exhibiting in some detail the mistakes committed by former Oudh officials; many of these are set forth, though, as is inevitable, with a certain reserve in the revenue reports of the last three years. It is difficult to conceive how it was expected, that these numerous and struggling sub-proprietary communities could possibly pay their heavy annual rent, before even the rights and interests of the different co-sharers in the decreed lease-right had been determined. The revenue report for 1873 relates, however, that "apart from cases of real over-assessment, there is no doubt that the action of the settlement department did, in many instances, press heavily on the people. In some districts, notably Faizabad, Gonda, Kheri, and parts of Sultanpur, at a time of supposed financial pressure, the revision of the assessment was hurried on, and a greater demand was imposed before the settlement officer had had time to adjust the rights and liabilities of the various sharers and under-proprietors affected by this operation. It is not difficult to understand that a course, such as this, necessarily entails great hardship on the persons directly responsible for the Government revenue, and results in their frequent default. They cannot themselves meet the whole of the Government demand, and they are not in a position to recover from their co-sharers and subordinate holders their fair quota of the increase." It is not easy also to understand how the then Oudh Government, in obeying its feeling of devotion to the needs of the imperial exchequer, and in levying the full enhanced tax at once, as it did in Faizabad, could have considered that it was not forgetting its own duty to the landowners and their under-proprietors; for, as the Chief Commissioner observes, "the distress which must result from the sudden imposition of a largely enhanced, though otherwise fair, demand, does not require demonstration." Yet it is noted in the same report that "as to that district the arrears of revenue were due chiefly to the causes—*first*, the enhancement of the revenue before due time had been given to fix rents; and *second*, realization of the revenue before subordinate rights had been determined;" and that "it was found that in 1869 a circular was issued directing that if the revised *jama* was declared on or after the 15th January in any given year, it was not to be demanded until the *kharif* of the following year, that is to say, a *jama* declared on the 15th January 1869, was not to be enforced till November 1870. It was also found that on the occurrence of the financial panic in 1869, the Chief Commissioner, loyally doing his utmost to assist the Government of India, directed this rule to be disregarded in the parganas which were assessed at that time, and that its principle had generally not been followed throughout the district; and the revised *jama* was collected from the *kharif* immediately following the date of its declaration, so that the year of grace prescribed by the circular above referred to, and the policy of which will not perhaps be questioned, was denied to the agriculturists.

The necessity for the due record of all sub-holdings prior to the levy of a largely increased revenue is self-evident ; yet though at first all suits for the determination of rights in land were exempt from the payment of court-fees, this privilege was withdrawn at far too early a stage ; and " the effect of the imposition of the full stamp duty on all these claims was prohibitive, as far as regarded the smaller subordinate holders, who could not afford the expense of establishing by a decree of court their title to rights actually in their possession, nor could the talukdars generally afford the heavy cost of challenging the rights of numerous petty occupants claiming to hold at favorable rates."

" In quoting these passages there is no desire to rake up old grievances, to pillory particular officials, or to bring again to light errors which may now be appropriately buried in oblivion ; there has been no more difficult and delicate task for Indian officials to perform than this settlement of Oudh, and it was impossible but that grave mistakes should be made during the execution of the onerous undertaking. It is not possible, however, to secure a just and comprehensive estimate of the present position of affairs in Oudh, or to suggest suitable remedial measures until these various errors have been thoroughly understood, and their consequences accurately appreciated. In treating Oudh difficulties, it will be necessary to recollect that the action of its rulers has in many ways itself created them, and the landowners and their sub-holders may justly claim liberal treatment now in consideration of the injustice which they had been compelled to endure till shortly after the commencement of the present Chief Commissioner's rule."

These remarks appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 8th June : and on the 15th the same writer wrote as follows :—

" Indeed, none of these questions appear to have disturbed the wooden severity of the then Oudh Government ; it does not seem to have occurred to those who then presided over the destinies of that Province that the work of assessing all landed property in a newly annexed country, peopled by brave but somewhat idle and demoralized Rajputs and Brahmins, crowded with intricate and little known tenures, was a matter of extreme difficulty and delicacy, requiring the most constant and anxious supervision. So far as we know, the settlement officers were for the most part abandoned to their own devices. Superior authority in the shape of commissioners and financial commissioners contented itself with hearing appeals from the judicial decisions of the assessors : and the revenue assessments—matters of life and death to whole countries—were accepted without challenge as the absolute decrees of infallibility. It is well-nigh incredible that almost the solitary instance of activity on the part of the Oudh Administration was harshly and suddenly to confiscate the year's grace granted to the Faizabad landowners between the announcement and the levy of the increased tax, and in defiance of all remonstrance to urge on the assessors of the Gondah and Kheri districts to hurriedly complete their revision operations, in order that the increased revenue might as speedily as possible be carried off to replenish, as it was supposed, an exhausted imperial exchequer. As the Oudh revenue reports show, the hasty fixation of a vastly increased tax has proved a terrible political blunder. The revenue demand of all three districts was shown to be oppressive ; and coupled as it was with the neglect to complete the record of rights, and followed by three years of disastrous harvests, the Oudh Government had no option but to direct its complete revision. Many parganas of Hardui are now found to be over-assessed ; parts of Lucknow, Unao, Bharaich, and Bara Banki were in the same predicament ; and in every district, except Pratabgurb, there have been considerable arrears of revenue."

The charges contained in these lengthy quotations may be thus briefly stated.—(1) The enhanced demand was enforced before subordinate rights were determined; (2) or before individual responsibilities had been arranged in villages held by communities of proprietors and sub-proprietors; and (3) before the proprietors had time to complete their rent arrangements in accordance with the revised demand. We proceed to answer these charges in detail:—

(1.)—*The enhanced demand was enforced before subordinate rights were determined.* The orders bearing on this matter were, that where the subordinate tenure extended to a whole village, the rent of the sub-proprietor was, if possible, to be fixed before the new demand was enforced.

In a large number of cases this was done; and where it was found impossible, a temporary course was under special sanction adopted (but this fact has never been noticed, even in any of the attacks on this assessment), by which the profits of the village were to be equally halved between the superior and subordinate proprietors, until their relative rights in the rents should be finally determined. Nothing under the circumstances could have been fairer than this; and the principle that the profits should be equally halved between these parties was, with all the facts before it, afterwards adopted when Act XX. of 1866, the Oudh Sub-settlement Law, was enacted by the Legislature. Moreover the passing of that law involved the re-opening and re-adjusting of the rents of all sub-settlements that had up to that time been carried out throughout the Province. Will it be argued that this fact alone is sufficient to brand the authorities of that day with being hard-hearted and extortionate, insomuch that they did not at once return the enhanced demand which by that time had, in many instances, been in force for several years? But in these attacks no discrimination has been used,—the argument of hardship has been accepted in the concrete, whether the subordinate right referred to a whole village, or to a single field or grove only; from which it may be inferred that the contention is that until every subordinate right, however insignificant, had been disposed of, no revised demand should have been enforced.

If this be correct, then the answer is, that in that case the enforcement of the enhanced demand would have been postponed till the millennium; because cases of the sort are still of such frequent occurrence, that it was found necessary, so recently as January 1874, especially to exempt them from the operation of the stamp law. In the novel and difficult circumstances in which divergences of opinion in very high quarters had then unfortunately placed the Oudh settlement department, the best that

was possible was done by its local members, by resort to personal influence in making unpopular laws as little hateful as possible, by bringing about compromises and by all other legitimate means; and it ill-becomes those who have not shared the heat and burden of that trying time, and whose own lot has been cast in easier places, now to throw stones at those who in their day not only merited, but also received commendation and reward.

(2.)—*Before individual responsibilities had been determined.* Anything more unreasonable than this objection cannot well be imagined. The determination of the responsibility of the brotherhood has never been supposed to have anything to do with the assessment of the Government revenue, till the two processes have become confused in the minds of those who might have been expected to know better. Hear Mr. Thomason on this subject:—

“There are two distinct operations in the formation of a settlement. The one is Fiscal, the determination of the Government demand—the other Judicial, the formation of the record of rights. Ordinarily the two operations are performed at the same time. * * But if from any cause the judicial part was omitted when the fiscal was performed, there is no reason why the former should not be subsequently carried into execution.”

Again, when the two steps can be taken together, it should be in this order: “*First*, the adjustment of boundaries; *second*, the survey; *third*, the assessment; *fourth*, the record of rights.” Finally, Mr. Thomason points out that “the assessment having determined the value of the property in the land, it then becomes necessary to declare the rights possessed in that property.”

As a matter of fact, Mr. Duncan's far-famed Permanent Settlement was carried out and enforced early in the century, but it was not till 1840 that the coparcenary responsibilities of the brethren were finally determined. The assessment of the large Allahabad district was completed and enforced in a single year by Sir Robert Montgomery, but no one will suppose that this included the preparation of the tables of village responsibilities? So that it would seem that our detractors demand a procedure from the late Oudh settlement staff not contemplated in the Thomasonian philosophy, or attempted here or elsewhere. Moreover, the objection is made generally, as applying to all estates, without reference to the well-known fact that in a large portion of these which are held by single owners only, such as Talukdars, Zemindars, loyal grantees, &c., there are no co-sharers at all, and consequently in all of these no paper of individual responsibilities is even required: was the revenue of all to be postponed, pending the adjustments of the coparcenary responsibilities of the few? It is difficult at all times to bring the mem-

bers of a numerous community together for any given purpose ; but let it once be understood by the people that the enhanced revenue will not be introduced until they have been assembled and have signed the paper of individual responsibility, and this difficulty will be increased a thousandfold.

(3)—*The new demand was realized before the proprietors' rent arrangements were completed.* It is beyond measure strange that this objection has, so far as we know, been taken against the Faizabad assessment alone, to which, of all others in Oudh, it is least applicable. In that settlement Mr. Thomason's principle was from the very first carefully carried out, which requires that "when the Government fixes its demand upon an estate, i.e. at the time of settlement, the Government officer is competent to fix the rates payable by the cultivators to the proprietors ;" and no sooner were the assessments of a Pargana declared, than officials were appointed to have rents adjusted under para. 135, Settlement Directions, modified by the Financial Commissioner's orders of the 6th June 1865, No. 1216.—So little care have our detractors taken to make sure of their facts, that we may mention that the Faizabad system of having rents adjusted when the new assessments were given out, found such favour in the eyes of Sir Henry Davies, that it was suggested by him for adoption to all the other officers of the department. Under this procedure innumerable leases were exchanged and many rent Schedules were given in—and yet it is said that landowners in this matter had not fair play !

Again, much has been made of the circumstance, that owing to the impecuniosity of Lord Mayo's Government, the loyalty of the Administration led it into the injustice of unduly hurrying on the realization of the enhanced Government demand. This charge, like the last, is made generally, and of course it is intended to extend to the entire district : but as a matter of fact it does not apply to even half of it. The Faizabad district consists of 13 Parganas or Sub-divisions. Into six of these the new assessments had already been introduced before the financial difficulties referred to even commenced. In two others a further year of grace was allowed under the Financial Commissioner's special orders of the 3rd December 1868. So that only five Parganas are left to which the objection can in any way whatever apply ; and when we say that, in these five Sub-divisions even, the proprietors had from 6 to 11 months allowed them within which to make their rent arrangements, and during which they were being actively assisted in their adjustments in the manner above pointed out by the officers of the department, we hesitate not to say that this objection is wholly untenable, and grossly unfair to those at whom it is levelled.

So far our remarks have referred to Mr. Connell as a critic: we now proceed to consider him as a settlement reformer. Mr. Connell's principal suggestion in this direction is that great efforts should be used to obtain correct and well-scrutinized rent-rolls, and that Government should be content to accept half the rental obtained from this source. Such a proposal at once evinces the want of practical experience of its author, and shows that a very hopeful pupil has become prematurely a most unsafe guide, as we shall now proceed to demonstrate:—

(1).—It has in all time been found simply impossible to obtain anything like a really reliable rent-roll, and we have only to let it be known to landowners that hereafter the rent-roll is to be the basis of assessment, and the difficulty will be immeasurably increased. Forgery and perjury will be more resorted to than ever, and in the end, what chance will a Canúngo or a Tehsildar or an Extra Assistant have in the course of testing a few rent-rolls annually, when he will have banded against him every Zemindar and every Patwarí in the Province, striving by every means in his power to mislead him, and so vitiate the declared basis of the Government assessment. The proposal to turn the Patwaries into Government servants, does not, it need hardly be said, mean turning them into honest men; nor are Oudh Canúngos people who, in a matter of such vital importance, can be safely relied on. In the result the people and the Mofussil officials will, of a surety, make common cause against the Government, and in the circumstances any chance of successfully testing rent-rolls by Assistants and Extra Assistant Commissioners may at once be abandoned as futile. It is useless to tell us that combinations will easily be frustrated if the Rent Courts will only decree arrears in accordance with the rent-rolls.

But the fact is that the litigation for arrears in which tenants-at-will are concerned, and it is these that the argument chiefly concerns, is but limited, and in any such case, were the tenant to plead the rent-roll entry, he knows that it would speedily be followed by a notice of ejectment. In the circumstances, there is no escape from the admission that under such a system we should be at the mercy of the proprietors and Patwaries; and the proposal, in all its simplicity and nakedness, means neither more nor less than the Assessing Officer abnegating his functions to the village Patwarí and contenting himself with the undignified and mechanical operation of dividing such figures as may be placed before him by two, and so fixing the Government demand.

It must not be forgotten that there is such a thing as a rent-roll based on rack-rents as well as one in which rents are understated, and one of our principal reasons for laying rent-rolls aside in Faizabad, was that those of Sir Maun Singh and other large

landowners were so high, that an assessment based on them could not possibly work. If Mr. Connell thinks the present Faizabad settlement excessive, what would it have been if his reformed plan had been followed, of accepting half the rack-rented results we refer to, in these principal estates? The utmost efforts elsewhere have entirely failed to produce reliable rent-rolls. In the N.-W. P. the Patwarí has long been declared to be a Government servant, and has been taught land surveying amongst other sciences. Patwarí circles have been introduced so as to allow fair remuneration to every member of the body. Years have been spent by officers of all grades, and of every degree of intelligence, in attempts to secure by careful testing, something like reliable village accounts, and the end finally gained, in the words of Mr. Buck, late Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and now Director-General of Patwaries and their papers, N.-W.P., has been no more than this:—"Fraudulent rentals are put forward now, but we settlement officers cannot discover which are fraudulent and which are true. We have therefore to found our estimate of the agricultural value of each village, on facts unconnected with its individual rent-roll. We find that certain classes of land can, and do, in a sufficient number of well-investigated cases, bear certain rents, and we apply those rates to the land of each village and assess on the result." The advantage of assessing by rent rates, as was done at Faizabad, was so clearly pointed out in our last number, that it is needless to dwell on the mistakes that our young author has made in speaking of them.

So much for the Patwarí from the Government point of view; if we look at him as a Government servant from the point of view of the people, we are reminded of the saying of the old Punjab Chief, "the Mahomedan *raj* was bad, the Sikh *raj* was worse, but the *Patwarí raj* that now prevails here, is the most intolerable of all; do protect us from it"!! And yet it is practically to these Patwaries that Mr. Connell would entrust the revenue assessments of the country!

(2.)—Again, Mr. Connell is an admirer of, and would carry out the plan of revenue assessments, such as they were, of the Emperor Akbar and his Dewan Todar Mal. He has scarcely, we fear, apprehended what it was that he was recommending. Akbar's assessments were little other than such as we have already described as being in force when we annexed Oudh. Their distinctive feature was that they were intended to be made *annually* by the Canúngos; and this being so, they were supposed to be made with reference to *existing* assets alone, and very naturally prospective capabilities were not taken into account. But our settlements are made for *thirty years*, and with some intelligent reference to the probable profit and

loss of the proprietors during that long period of time. And for this reason it has been held by the eminent revenue authorities who have gone before us, that it is but equitable to the State in fixing its demand, to take *prospective* as well as *existing* capabilities fully into consideration. Nothing, they argued, was more likely to induce honest husbandmen to wish to break up waste-land and make it pay, than assessing revenue lightly upon it. And this introduces us to (3), the question of the assessment of waste-lands generally.

Mr. Connell propounds the opinion that fallow land as well as waste or jungle, should not be assessed, and he remarks as follows :—"As an instance of an excessive taxation on the waste-lands, we refer the reader to the assessment of Faizabad in Oudh. The Chief Commissioner on page 6 of the Oudh Revenue Report for 1873-74 notes that, in the Commissioner's opinion, 'the assessment put on waste was excessive,' and there appears to be little doubt that this was one of the causes which rendered the breakdown of that assessment inevitable." This last we believe to be Mr. Connell's, and not the Chief Commissioner's opinion!

Lands, which in the absence of manure must every now and then be left fallow for a year or two, have always been assessed as cultivated land, and no sufficient reason has been assigned in the papers before us for altering this procedure. The more population and the consequent enhanced manure supply of the country go on increasing, the less will become the necessity hereafter for this sort of fallow, and there is no reason whatever for not rating it fairly. In many parts of Faizabad where sugarcane is largely grown, brushwood produces as good a return as is yielded by indifferent cultivation, and we cannot see why Government should suffer, because the owner prefers growing brushwood which pays him as well, to the coarser sorts of grain for which he cannot always find a market. As this brushwood finds no place in the rent-rolls, on which Mr. Connell would solely rely, we have another clear indifference-argument here to show the faithlessness of such a basis of assessment as that proposed. As a matter of fact, the Faizabad waste was most moderately treated, and the mistake of those who think otherwise, has arisen from comparing a densely-populated, healthy district like Faizabad, with scarcely any scrub now left in it, with sparsely-peopled, malarious districts like Gonda and Bahraich, many parts of which are still covered with heavy jungle. As to the remark that "the assessment put on waste is excessive," it is just as untrue as the one which followed it, that "this was one of the causes which rendered the breakdown of that (the Faizabad) assessment inevitable." There has been no breakdown whatever in that assessment that can in any way be traced to those who

made it, and any difficulties that have arisen are due simply to the changes amongst officers, involving as they do a want of continuity in the system of administration, and to the want of fiscal aptitude on the part of those who ought to have done better. This charge of "excessive assessment of waste" was, as soon as he heard it, answered by the writer in the following terms, with what success he will express no opinion.

"From first to last this rule was followed in assessing waste. So much land was set aside for the village cattle, and on this no more than the pepper-corn rate of 2 annas a bigha was assessed; all culturable waste beyond that limit was estimated at 8 annas a bigha. The corresponding figures in acres were shown as 3 annas and 13 annas respectively. If it was found that this gave an aggregate amount on waste likely to clog the enterprise of the owner, a reduction was allowed from that aggregate, to bring the amount within his means. The system was highly thought of by practical men at the time, and by no one more so than by so good and experienced judges as Sir William Muir, and Mr. F. O. Mayne, *vide* one of his Annual Reports when Commissioner of the division. Now for results. Three-fourteenths, or more than one-fifth of the whole area of the Faizabad district is put down in the field survey, as *barren and unassessable*. But no one will for a moment suppose that this is absolutely correct. As a matter of fact there are numerous large plains that I could name, which have been entered as barren, although they have many productive spots over their surface. These were not assessed because it was doubtful whether they would be cultivated during the current settlement. Here I claim to have margin No. I, to the credit of my light assessment of waste, and of the district. Again, according to the revenue survey, the area of *assessable* waste in the district was 322,616 acres: by the field survey it was 234,866. Our rule, for which there is high authority, was to assess on the field survey return of assessable waste only, so that the difference between these two sets of figures, or 87,750 acres more or less, remained unassessed, and this constitutes item No. II to the credit of my light assessment of waste. On the 2,34,866 acres of waste which were assessed, we put, according to the rule given above, Rs. 58,554. This gives a rating of $4\frac{1}{4}$ annas an acre on the field survey area, and less than 3 annas on that of the revenue survey. Moreover, the whole of the culturable waste of the Kandassa Pargana, *viz.*, 13,618 acres, was released from assessment altogether; and on the entire Faizabad Tehsil, whereas under our local rule we might have taken Rs. 24,182 on the culturable waste, we, in reality, took no more than Rs. 7,362 or Rs. 16,820 less. This is proof No. III of a moderate assessment of waste. It was not an uncommon practice formerly

to treat groves as culturable waste, and to assess them accordingly. In Oudh a liberal policy in this respect was followed, and groves up to 10 per cent of the village area, were released from assessment. Under this rule, 71,891 acres of grove were left free, and 3,869 acres only were assessed according to their capabilities. Had Government maintained the old North-West Province procedure of assessing these groves, and had the rule followed by Mr. Wynyard in Amballa been adopted of charging 2 annas a tree, the annual revenue to Government from this source alone, would have been nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees; or had they been rated as culturable waste, under the rule detailed above, as is the more usual course, the Government share would have been close on 60,000 rupees. I claim this as my item of proof No. IV, of a light assessment. Akin to this part of the subject is the Sayer revenue derivable from Mhowah and other trees, and the wild rice, water-nuts, and other products of lakes, bazaar dues, &c., &c. When the famous Azimgarh settlement was made, every item of this nature was added to the sum that constituted the assessment officer's assumed gross rental. In the Faizabad settlement no account was taken of these things. Here, again, I claim consideration for the lightness of my assessment in item No. V. I point not without satisfaction to these figures, and I ask where is the proof of the comprehensive, unlimited, and unsupported assertion that "*the assessment put on waste is excessive?*"

But we must now hasten to a conclusion. If there was one influential native of Oudh more than another, who by every possible means would have resisted over-assessment, that man was the late Maharaja Sir Maun Singh; yet, hear what he publicly proclaimed of the Faizabad assessments, in the Talukdar's Association, as set forth in their published proceedings: "Chowdhri Sarfaraz Ahmed Sahib, adverting to the mode observed in valuing the capabilities of lands during the present settlement operations in the province, said that, before approaching the Chief Commissioner with any representation on the subject, some one among the members should be deputed to wait on the Settlement Commissioner, and submit to him the sentiments of the association respecting it. On the motion of Rajah Wazir Chand, seconded by Chowdhri Syed Nawab Ali Khan, Bahadur, it was resolved that this duty be entrusted to the Vice-President.

"The Vice-President, Sir Maun Singh, said that he would gladly undertake the duty; and referring to the settlement operations now being carried on by Mr. Carnegy, remarked that the rule observed by that officer, in rating and assessing, is in all respects unobjectionable, for while it protects the rights of the State, it in no way infringes those of the Talukdars.

"That he, the speaker, was of opinion, that were Mr. Carnegie's rule to be observed by all settlement officers, no ground for such complaints would be left as have been made by the members during the present, and in the Committee's meeting of May last."

Among the eminent officers who have guided the past administration none could be more implicitly relied on to discountenance over-assessment in Oudh (where the Talukdari tenure in which they took so deep an interest prevails so largely, and where, by a large section of the community they are still so affectionately remembered) than Sir Charles Wingfield and General Barrow.

The Settlement Commissioner, under whose guidance the—as we shall continue to call it—exceedingly moderate assessment of Oudh was commenced, was Mr. Charles Currie, the inaugurator of the notoriously easy assessment of Bulandshahr. The Financial Commissioner, under whom it progressed, was Sir Henry Davies, in whom, whether as Financial or Chief Commissioner, the peasantry of Oudh ever found an able advocate and a staunch supporter. The Commissioners of Division, who watched more especially the Faizabad assessments, were such men as Henry Stewart Reid, and the ever-to-be-lamented F. O. Mayne, each of whom went from Faizabad to take his seat in due course at the Sudder Board of Revenue. Surely in names such as these we have some guarantee, that a settlement conducted under their auspices cannot have been other than suitable and moderate.

Finally, it is at all times a painful task to have to defend measures with which we have in any way been personally concerned ; but, in this instance, many valued reputations had been openly assailed if not imperiled, and it has therefore been to us a labor of love to defend them from remarks which we know to be undeserved, and which we consider to have been uncalled for.

PATRICK CARNEGIE.

ART. VIII.—EURASIANS AS LEAVEN IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

- 1.—*Papers of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association*, City Press, Calcutta, 1876.
- 2.—*Addresses of Governors of Ceylon to Legislative Council*. Vol. I.
- 3.—*The Ceylon Hansard*. Vols. I. to VI.
- 4.—*The Ceylon Ordinances: Authorized Edition*.
- 5.—*The Ceylon Blue Book for 1875*.
- 6.—*The Ceylon Directory and Hand-book for 1876*.

EVENTS have proved that it is not very difficult in these days of rapid locomotion, when all parts of a widely-extended Empire are bound together by the iron bonds of railway lines, and when towns are within speaking distance of each other by the telegraphic wire, to move a whole community. The promptitude with which, on beat of tom-tom, the members of a village community assemble under the largest and shadiest tree in the hamlet, has been almost equalled by the efforts made to arouse to concerted action the Eurasian in Simla with his brother in Madras, and both, with a central Association in Calcutta. When, in a previous article in this *Review*,* it was remarked of the Burghers of Ceylon, "Looked at in various aspects the history of this people may not be altogether without service to India in regard to the treatment of her poor whites," it was not contemplated that almost immediately after, the Eurasians of India would make a united effort to secure for themselves a more important position and greater influence than they at present possess. The effort that has been made, which a friendly critic has appropriately described as "not merely an association of laborers or tradesmen, but an association of a population," is one particularly deserving of fullest sympathy and heartiest support from all sections of Indian peoples,—from the Hindu and the Mussulman even more than British settlers. In the remarks to be made in this paper, it will be shown that, in regard to a similar class in an island practically one with India, a generous and fair treatment of the offspring of mixed races has resulted in bringing much that is good and progressive in English social and political life close to the people, until the land has come to approximate more to the English standard of national existence than to the Indian. About sixty years ago the Burghers of Ceylon occupied a

* "The Eurasians of Ceylon," *Calcutta Review*, July 1876, page 174.

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position similar to that of the Eurasians of India at the present moment. That was then done for them which the Eurasians are now doing for themselves, though there were opportunities for the Burghers the like of which it would be hard to find in India at the present time. As soon as British rule became consolidated in Ceylon, it was found that in the fairly-educated European descendants, the authorities had to their hand material which could be manipulated for the thousand and one inferior offices rendered necessary by the complex systems of modern Government. The Ceylonese proper were altogether unacquainted with the English tongue, and, generally, were not apt for the performance of the duties required; and, therefore, opportunity was given to the Burghers. It was, however, mainly to the exertions and influence of one man that the Burghers were able to attain a position of importance in the community. And it is only as one man, Eurasian for choice—failing that, an Englishman—becomes thoroughly possessed as with an apostle's ardour, with the desire to knit together and uplift the Eurasian community, that real and lasting good will result from the present movement. The hour has struck: will the man appear? In Ceylon, in the early years of the century, Sir Alexander Johnston, first King's Advocate fiscal, and subsequently Chief Justice and President of Council, constituted himself the champion of the Burghers, and wrought great things on their behalf. The policy for which he laboured with great devotion finds expression in remarks he penned in regard to a petition from certain East Indians to Parliament in 1830, expressions which acquire an added force at this time from the present action of the Eurasians. Writing to Mr. John W. Ricketts of Calcutta (himself an East Indian), Sir Alexander Johnston wrote:—"I have always been of opinion that, in policy, "His Majesty's Government ought to show marked respect to all "persons, who are either descended from Europeans, or who bear "any resemblance in features, manners, dress, religion, language, "and education to Europeans, and thereby constantly associate "in the minds of the natives of the country an idea of respect "and superiority with that of a European, and with that of every- "thing which is characteristic of, or connected with, a European." In furtherance of these views he described what, in his opinion, was the course the Government of Ceylon should follow in regard to the Burghers, remarking—"In justice it ought "to do everything in its power to place the native Burghers of that "island in a situation which may enable them to acquire the "respect and esteem of their countrymen, and which may make "it their interest and their wish, as well as their duty to support "the authority and promote the views of the British nation. It "ought to encourage them to improve their moral character, and

"to cultivate their understanding, by affording them the same prospects that Europeans enjoy, of attaining, if they desire them, situations of the highest honour and of the greatest emolument in all the different departments of the State." The policy thus formulated was never adopted in so many words by the authorities of Ceylon, but its spirit was, to a great extent, made the rule of guidance, and its effects are to be seen on every hand at the present time; they found fullest development in the knighting of the late Queen's Advocate, Richard Morgan, and placed him on the Bench as Chief Justice. Yet, further, is it meet at this juncture to quote Sir Alexander Johnston's protest against treating with contumely and scorn this section of the community, a class whose interests he warmly espoused. "His Majesty's Government," he said, "ought not to consider the exclusion by law, for no fault of their own, but merely on account of their complexion, of so valuable a class of loyal subjects, as systematically degrading them in the eyes of their countrymen, and as subjecting them on every occasion, in private and in public, amongst Europeans and natives, however respectable, however well-educated, and however deserving they may be, to the most unmerited contumely and the most painful mortifications." He then went on to allude to the introduction of tuition in arts and sciences, and moral and political institutions, urging especially the establishment of vernacular journals (this was in 1810) to be given over to the people as soon as they had learned how to use this machinery.* His estimate of the good that would result from a generous policy was thus stated:—

That it [the Government] ought to consider the native Burghers in the Island of Ceylon as valuable auxiliaries in carrying into effect all such measures, and in bringing about all such changes, as are calculated to improve the moral and political character of the natives of that island.

And, finally, that it must, so far from diminishing its popularity and endangering its authority, increase the former and affirm the latter by exalting the character and conciliating the affections of all the native Burghers who are settled in different parts of the island; who, from the circumstances of their birth, are thoroughly acquainted with the language, habits, manners, usages and prejudices of the natives; and who, from the circumstances of their descent, their features, their names, their religion, their laws, their education, and their language, must, if wisely protected, feel themselves bound by every tie of affection and interest to adhere at all times to the British Government, and to consider their importance, if not their existence in society, as depending upon the continuance and strength of the British authority in India.

* Undoubtedly the suggestion was obtained from the fact that the Government of Ceylon were newspaper proprietors, inasmuch as a portion of the weekly *Government Gazette* was devoted to the publications of such

events as now appear in the local journals. This practice was continued till 1833, when newspapers proper were established. The Government of Ceylon stands alone in this respect.

Entertaining these opinions, I felt it to be my duty, as soon as I became Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, to advise His Majesty's Government to place every descendant of a European on that island, whatever his complexion might be, precisely upon the same footing as a European; to look upon him as having the same rights and privileges, as subject to the same criminal and civil laws, and as eligible to the same appointments in every department of Government. Upon my recommendation native Burghers were appointed to the offices of registrar, keeper of the records, advocates, proctors, notaries of the Supreme Court, members of the landrards, secretaries of the provincial courts, sitting Magistrates, justices of the peace, and superintendents of the police, to the office of proctors for paupers, a situation of great responsibility, created by Government at my suggestion, for the specific purpose of protecting the rights of paupers and slaves, to that of deputy advocate fiscal, and, under certain circumstances, even to that of acting advocate fiscal, an officer next in rank in the Supreme Court to the chief and puisne Justices, and discharging duties in that Court of great trust and importance to the safety of the Government and the tranquillity of the country.

In consequence of the adoption by Government of this line of policy, the native Burghers on the island of Ceylon acquired a high value for character, and a powerful motive for improving their understanding, for cultivating every branch of knowledge, for making themselves acquainted with the arts, the sciences and manufactures, and the agriculture of Europe; they enjoyed a further opportunity of displaying their talents and extending their influence amongst their countrymen, and they felt a pride in exerting that influence in favour of the British Government, and in promoting, amongst the natives of the island, all such measures as were calculated to improve the state of the country and to ameliorate the condition of the people.

Not only politically, but socially also, was this high encomium peculiarly appropriate, and the leaven has worked so thoroughly, and citizen and national life have developed so much, that whilst the projectors of the Eurasian Association in India are driven to pen the following paragraph—

I wish, however, to press upon you the fact that the Association disclaims—in the fullest and widest sense of the term—all intention to intermeddle with anything of a political character, or criticise the actions of Government in any way whatsoever. The difficulties against which we have already to contend are sufficiently numerous and grave, and it would therefore be the crassest folly to create others, which can scarcely fail to alienate those in authority, who seem disposed to aid us.

the Burgher of Ceylon is compelled—by the force of the circumstances he has been a powerful factor in creating, a beneficent Frankenstein—compelled to mix largely in politics, and does so with credit to himself and with advantage to the State.

It was shown in this *Review* in July last that the Euro-Asians of Ceylon had risen high in every profession and walk in life in which they were engaged, and it needs not that these facts should be again stated. Indeed, a notable step in advance may be taken, a higher plateau reached, and the consideration of the solution of a great problem in the progress of oriental nations be shown as one out-come of the free and (generally speaking) generous

policy exhibited towards the Burghers. That solution is the fitness of a whole nation, hitherto under despotic rule, for the right and proper use of Representative Government. Assuredly, with nations as with individual men, "that which ye sow ye shall also reap," and while the pages of history are crowded with instances showing the evil results of a cruel and unjust policy, it is gratifying to find that, in contrast to these, can be placed some as fruitful and loud-voiced for good as others are for evil.

Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war ;
And this is of them.

In all the social and political results to be described and detailed hereafter, the Burgher influence must count as nine-to-one against purely English influence. This may be estimated by any Indian reader of this *Review* who will gaze from the outside at his own position and the actual influence he brings to bear upon the Indians around him, and with whom he is brought into contract. Social contact being confined to matters of business or formal acts of politeness, no impress is made upon the life, changing the current of being. It is hard to say how much would be left of distinctively English characteristics, apart from those adopted by Eurasians; hard to say, because it is to be feared the amount would be infinitesimal. Even in Ceylon, where social life is half-a-century ahead of that in the most favoured and progressive of presidency towns, the Burgher is far more to the indigenous Ceylonese than is the European, however much the latter may be loved, and the reason is not far to seek.

A break may, perhaps, be best made at this point to express the sense in which the Eurasian Association is viewed by the Burghers of Ceylon. Whilst, undoubtedly, a vigorous branch would be established, and pecuniary assistance be rendered by those well-to-do in the community, it is felt that a Ceylon Association would, necessarily, have a *quasi-separated* position. The freer air and broader national life of the island would demand diverse modes of action. There are points of difference, as well as features in common, between the Eurasian and the Burgher; and it is right that the former should be dwelt upon as well as the latter. The idea of joining Anglo-Indians with Eurasians in the same Association is felt to be a sound one; and the warm and hearty sympathy, which apparently has been expressed in India, finds echo in Ceylon. If a large scheme is carried out it is felt that a Bank would be necessary, but financial arrangements must be worked on the basis of a fixed deposit, safe from reverses, otherwise defective monetary arrangements may upset the best matured plans. A Family Annuity Fund should be sketched by competent Actuaries. It would be scarcely wise to

attempt to encourage providence and thrift by making the rates higher than Bank rates. It would be sounder to follow Bank rates. To assist enhanced rates by aid from the Association Fund would be unwise. As soon as one scheme failed the other would be affected and the provident scheme would collapse. Object 5, *viz*:—"To encourage habits of thrift and providence amongst the members, so that families might be saved from destitution or distress from the untimely death of any member," should, therefore be re-defined, the scheme being left to professional actuaries to draft after the manner of benefit clubs and insurance companies. A Eurasian Association Savings' Bank should surely be successful. Amongst the stipulations might be one, that deposits should not be withdrawn within a certain term, and that interest be regularly payable at the end of six or twelve months. All moneys paying interest to depositories, are of course considered to be invested in securities at fairly high interest. The nature of Indian securities and mortgages are such that surely six per cent. need not be spoken of so diffidently as it is in Circular No. 2. Certainly to the Ceylon mind there is undue caution in this respect. Again, too, the door should not be shut and barred against donations from those who are outside the Association. In proceeding from appealing cries to Government to resolute self-help, there is no necessity for the responsible parties to fly off at a tangent, and consider their independence compromised and their self-respect tarnished, by receiving donations. Such gifts from wealthy Eurasians and others, and legacies, might form the nucleus of funds which might prove of inestimable service. One thing above all others should be borne in mind, even if the Association has to walk slowly for many days, and that is, that the expenses should be kept within the monthly subscription income. The "Mutual Aid" idea should only be developed from this source. The foundation fund should be jealously guarded, and allowed to increase until it formed a capital sum calculated to be of use. One more detail may be noticed. Sir Richard Temple's proposition to place one hundred lads in the Doveton College is sound and practical. The idea is reasonable and full of promise, and whilst more elaborate and ambitious schemes are being formulated, this might be carried out; special care, however, being taken that the Association does not sink into a mere society for the due carrying out of this proposal. Ceylon experience most clearly shows that Eurasians admitted to equal education with Mussulmans and Hindus will always exhibit an equal per centage of cultured ability; one thing being borne in mind,—and there is nothing which the writer of this article would more strongly impress upon his Eurasian friends than this,—the adoption of Mussulman and Hindu principles on one point at least: absti-

nence from intoxicating liquors. The neglect of this is the only great obstacle in the way of the Burghers of Ceylon being more influential than they are now. It would be no unworthy infringement of the "liberty of the subject" if each of the hundred Doveton College lads were induced to take the Temperance pledge,—from conviction if possible—and there are abstainers in sufficient force in Calcutta to put the youthful mind in a right channel in this respect; if not, it should be made a *sine qua non*. Abstinence in the East, as in the West, is the student's friend and the poor clerk's savings' bank, besides being an insurance against indulgence in mature years. One secret of the competitive success of Mussulman and Hindu students and of Moorish and Chetty traders (in Ceylon), is the coolness and readiness of resource they can always depend upon, derived from this source.

The Eurasian Association scheme is full of promise for good and for usefulness of an eminent kind. What service it will render to Indian social life must be left for the historian of the future to record; if it should serve in any measure to make of the Eurasians what has been made of their kindred in "India's utmost isle," there are none who should look with greater favour upon the movement than Indians of all races, with whom the Eurasians are so nearly connected by ties of blood, and with whom they have so much in common. Political efforts are expressly discarded by the promoters of the Association, and rightly so: nevertheless there is that in the course of events, and in connection with this link between the brother Aryans of the West and of the East, that men like the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and Babu Anandamohan Bose, Secretary of the Science Association, to take two representative Hindus, should find much in the Association-proposals to ensure their warmest sympathy and support.

At page 201 of this *Review* for July 1876, it was said:—

The reference to the 'paternal' rule of Ceylon opens up a question far too large to be dealt with at the close of a paper like the present, but in regard to the future of the Burghers [as of other sections of the community] it is of vital and pressing interest. The question is—whether or not the time has come when a representative government should be established, and the people entrusted with the franchise? The writer thinks it has. Reasons in favour of this being conferred might be multiplied. . . . In an early number of this *Review* we hope to be able to show the fitness of the natives for the franchise, and the good its conferment upon them would do; the advancement of the whole island which would certainly follow."

We now take up this pledge.

I

AN OPEN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL; THIRTY-THREE YEARS' WORK.

"There is no more important Institution in the Island than this

"Council. Whatever be the estimation in which it is held by the
"official or unofficial community here, I know that it is held in
"high estimation by English Statesmen, who look to it as the
"centre of much good. Mr. Bright has referred to it in eulogistic
"terms.* And on the extension of English liberalism, as involved
"in the establishment of Colonial Councils, even Lecky, the his-
"torian, has many a thrilling period. It will be a disgrace there-
"fore that in a British dependency any misunderstanding should
"prevent the full development of liberal institutions of which
"Englishmen are so proud that they have conferred them on us ;
"and of which the natives of this country should be equally
"proud, in that they find in them the nucleus of self-government."

These words were uttered in stentorian tones by a Tamil legis-
lator (Sir, then Mr. Coomara Swamy) in whose voice could not be
traced the slightest foreign accent. The occasion was the dis-
cussion of a motion impliedly censuring the authorities for curtail-
ing the period of the session, and the remarks were made on a
hot, oppressive afternoon in December 1872 ; the scene was the
Legislative Council Chamber of Ceylon, where, around a large
table of a horse-shoe pattern, sat sixteen gentlemen, ten officials,
six unofficial nominees : the assembly was presided over by the
Governor of the colony, *ex-officio*. Over all, pendant from the
star-gilt ceiling, swung slowly a heavy punkah, which contributed
a little coolness to the fervid temperature. The remarks, to a
stranger, might seem a little magniloquent, perhaps not incorrect-
ly, so far as the present constituted council as an aid to liberalism
is concerned. Such, however, is not altogether the case. It is
true that so apathetic have the inhabitants of the colony shown
themselves about the farce of representation which obtains in
that assembly, that only on rare occasions do the public go to
hear the speeches or witness the procedure. Yet the institution

* Doubtless this allusion is to the following passage from one of the Right Hon'ble John Bright's speeches on India, delivered in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1858. Alluding to Presidency Councils, the Hon'ble Member said :—" I should propose to do that which has been done with great advantage in Ceylon. I have received a letter from an officer who has been in the service of the East India Company, and who has told me of a fact which has gratified me much. He says :—' At a public dinner at Colombo in 1835, to the Governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, at which I was present, the best speech of the evening was made by

a native nobleman of Kandy, and a Member of Council. It was remark-
able for its appropriate expression,
its sound sense, and the deliberation
and ease that marked the utterance
of his feelings. There was no repe-
tition or useless phraseology or flat-
tery, and it was admitted by all who
heard him to be the soundest and
neatest speech of the night.' That
was in Ceylon. It is not, of course,
always the best man who can make the
best speech ; but if what I have read
could be said of a native of Ceylon,
it could be said of thousands in
India."—*Speeches of John Bright*,
vol. i., p., 52.

has a history of its own which is worth telling: a description of the work it has done will show that it has existed to good purpose, and that the time has now come when it should give place to a House more in accordance with the times, and, what is of greater importance, with the improved position of the people and their increased fitness for a measure of self-rule. Ceylon is a Crown Colony, and a Crown Colony is described in an authorised publication, "The Colonial Office List," as a colony "in which the "Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home "Government."

When, in 1833, Ceylon was entrusted with a deliberative council to assist the Governor in legislation, the island bore but little resemblance to the actively commercial and busily intellectual country it now is. The only article of export of commercial importance was cinnamon. This was a monopoly in the hands of Government, and upon good prices being obtained for it depended whether there would be a deficit or surplus when the year's accounts were made up: the authorities were, for the nonce, dry goods' traders, watching every fluctuation in the market with feverish eagerness. Little connection was had with the mountainous interior, which was full of mountains covered with dense forests; roads there were practically none, save the great artery formed by Sir Edward Barnes, the aorta of island communication. The plains outside the mountain zone were inhabited by an ignorant population of agriculturists, ignorant from their isolation; while all over the land, the Buddhists priests were sunk in sloth, and altogether unmindful of conferring "merit" upon the people by calling them together to hear "bana." The finances of the island were burdened with a heavy military charge, and deficits were chronic, the island being saved from almost Turkish bankruptcy by a series of successful pearl fisheries. Taking the year 1834 as the first in which a record of schools appears in the Blue Book, by reference to a few statistical statements an idea of the (then) position of the colony may be obtained. With a revenue of £377,952 there was a military force of 6,227 men. In 1875, the revenue was £1,354,123, and the fighting force just overtopped one thousand. In 1834, thanks to the earnest efforts of the missionaries, there were 1,105 schools (800 were private schools, receiving no Government aid) with 13,891 scholars. Forty years later, and herein is, perhaps, the greatest lapse of duty on the part of the English rulers of the Island, there are (1874 returns) only 1,458 schools with 66,385 scholars, while from 1863 to 1871 the number of schools was once as low as 716 and always below one thousand. The annals of forty years ago were undeniably dull, and pall upon the student

of contemporary records. Further, the Governors' speeches, in which one expects to find the largest range as well as the greatest height of the life of the period: during perusal the supposition grows upon the reader that a merchant's circular, dealing with an article of commerce, *viz.*, cinnamon, and having a few extraneous subjects introduced to give colouring and interest, has been substituted for a vice-regal speech. The redeeming feature of the period was the great activity of European and American missionaries in the pulpit and educationally. It does not follow that they were more active,—they were not nearly so many in number,—then than now; but, in those days, so few figures passed across the stage, and the scene was so seldom changed, that the missionaries took a more important place in history than they do now, when the boards are crowded and the stage is diversified with a multitude of groups representing many interests. Scarcely anything touching the Ceylonese appears until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie was Governor: the intense sympathies of a man of more than ordinary culture, a ruler in advance of his times, led him to hew at what was left of the structure of domestic slavery, and to hasten its early fall. In 1829, so unsatisfactory was the state of affairs in Ceylon that a commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H. Cameron, was appointed by the home authorities. The immediate occasion of the appointment of this commission would seem to have been the financially disastrous position of the colony, already alluded to. In 1827 the revenue was £264,375 and the expenditure £411,648, while in the previous year the deficit was £115,879, nearly half the income, which would be much as if Sir John Strachey were to state in March or April next that whilst the revenue for the year was £50,000,000, expenditure had run up to nearly £90,000,000! Full and exhaustive reports were made by the commissioners, and the outcome of their enquiry was the establishment of an improved system of judicature. Amongst other things recommended, was the establishment of a Legislative Council, and a despatch was sent to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the Governor, the fourth paragraph of which ran as follows: “. “Now we do hereby signify and declare our pleasure to be; that the said Legislative Council of our Island of Ceylon, shall always consist of fifteen persons [exclusive of the Governor], of whom nine shall be at all times persons holding offices within the said Island at our pleasure, and the remaining shall at all times be persons not holding such offices.” The constitution of this assembly was confessedly imperfect. At that time even, prior to the passing of the first English Reform Bill, it was felt that such a council, not elective in any sense, and representative only through nomination, could not last long. Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke said it was “imperfect,” but very properly remarked that it would “constitute an essen-

tial part of any colonial legislature for which the island may be prepared at a future period." His fellow Commissioner, in words to be subsequently quoted, was even more emphatic in looking upon the proposed council as merely tentative, and introductory only to a representative assembly worthy of the name. The time for that assembly to be called into being has now come; but before attempting to show this from present data, it may be interesting to glance briefly at the work done by this, the first "open" Legislative Council in the East, during the forty years in which it has held its sessions.

In the first days of the new council, dissatisfaction arose; the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, not filling up the seats of unofficials till the third session, whilst a memorial from aggrieved British merchants regarding this grievance was treated with scant justice. This treatment from such a man was the more surprising as Sir Robert Horton had been a member of a Liberal administration in England, had been a Poor Law Commissioner (his book on Pauperism is useful to the Poor Law Reformer of the present day) and was altogether a man of whom quite the contrary of that which marked his career in Ceylon, would naturally be predicted. The boon of assisting in legislature was given so grudgingly that all grace was taken from the gift, while it was shown in a memorial to the Secretary of State, that had the unofficial seats been filled up, as the memorialists contended they ought to have been, two ordinances which were passed in the first session, which bore hardly upon the people, would have been shorn of the injustice which marked them. Leave to introduce bills was also asked for, but refused—to be granted, however, nearly a score of years later. While there was much in the infant institution to excite ridicule, in some things it commanded admiration. For instance, from the first, the meetings were open to the public, the reason for this being publicly stated, *viz*, that inhabitants of the island and people in England might know what was going on. The House of Commons, in spite of Mr Sullivan's efforts to the contrary in 1875, has not yet reached this honestly-avowed stage. Speech-making was early a characteristic of Ceylon M. L. C.'s; and Indian "exchanges," in days when topics were few for Anglo-Indian journalists to descant upon, would complain that there was nothing in the Ceylon papers save reports of Council proceedings.

The benefits of free trade were early recognised—and that is nearly all, for fiscal arrangements which necessitate the existence of farmers of taxes on locally-grown rice, whose exactions and impositions are described in strong language, still flourish in full force, while imported food bears a burden which falls heavily on the poorer classes of the community. An attempt to deal with food taxes in 1839, led to the abolition of the fish tax, a tithe, and the

fishermen, mainly Romanists, at once voluntarily set apart this sum for religious purposes.

What cannot fail to strike the reader of the "Governors' speeches"—next to the very ordinary nature of their contents, until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie introduced a practice which once marked the chief orators of the House of Commons, *viz.*, quoting from the ancient classics, and reciting lengthy Latin sentences,—is the erratic dates at which the council met. Cause for surprise, however, is taken away, when it is observed that the colony was then so much of a military post, and little else, that the principal measure of one session was an ordinance providing bullock carts as a means of transport for troops. A sort of controlling power over the public purse was given in 1839, but it was not until ten years later that Earl Grey announced in a despatch, the truism that none were so well able to properly spend a nation's money as the legislators of that nation; yet, in little more than a decade of years later, the unofficial members resigned in a body, because the vote for military expenditure was controlled in London instead of at Colombo. Jealousy in this respect is very keenly felt; and the session of 1875-76 was marked by a strong expression of public opinion, stormy personal debates and divisions, because the Secretary of State added £400 a year to the pension of the retiring Chief Justice, Sir Edward Creasy, without consulting the colony. An ordinance to cover this payment had to be withdrawn, pending the publication of despatches for which permission had to be sought. Under pressure through the council and otherwise, avowed Government connection with paganism (the Kandian Convention of 1815 necessitates some connection still) in Ceylon came to an end.

Privilege was precious to the budding legislators of Ceylon as it is to, say, the "superior person" of St. Stephen's, Westminster; and when, in 1840, certain members wished to protest against the passing of an ordinance, when all the forms of the House had been complied with, Governor Stewart Mackenzie said:—"I hold that, in point of fact, in this as in every other deliberative, which is also a legislative, assembly (except, perhaps, the House of Lords in Great Britain), the only legitimate protest of any member is his vote against the measure under discussion, which, as the names and votes are regularly taken down, forms his recorded protest." Even if it were necessary, the facilities in Ceylon do not permit the writer of this to consult authorities on the moot point, which is now conceded to unofficial members of the council; but two facts may be mentioned which go to bear out the correctness of the opinion expressed by the Colonial Governor, *viz.*,—(a) Professor Thorold Roger's "Protests of the Lords," recently published, and (b) Mr. Plimsoll's protest against the abandonment of the Merchants' Shipping Bill in the House of Commons in 1875, which protest

was refused acceptance by Mr. Speaker Brand, and only found its way to the public through copies being given to the reporters to the newspapers.

Railway formation ; Military Expenditure.—(the conduct of Home authorities in this respect was very ungracious) ; Tank Restoration ; Land Registration ; creation of Municipalities, large (in cities and big towns), lesser (in minor towns), and least (village councils) ; have been the other topics which have most exercised the minds of members of the Island Legislature. Viewed in whatever light one may choose, the railway has been most potent in its influence on the land, a type of the material works which help mental and moral progress in the present time. The Ceylon Railway has greatly opened up the country to Europeans and Ceylonese ; it has brought hitherto partially-antagonistic races together ; and has done much to advance the colony almost to the level of more progressive, only because entirely Anglo-Saxon, communities, till there are now few countries to which it need yield the *pas*. The extension of railways now in progress and contemplated will add so much to what has been already attained, that the moderate measure of reform sketched further on in this paper, as needed to meet the wants of the present time, will scarcely suffice to satisfy what will be demanded with energy and persistence. Why, for once in a way, should not political wants be met as they arise, and the injustice which leads to great agitation be avoided ? In Ceylon the Ceylonese travellers contribute the large passenger totals, which it is the pride, annually, of the Traffic Manager, to record : it is the produce of the estates owned and worked by Europeans which contributes its handsome quota to the gratifying result of a large surplus every year.

Consequent upon the strides made in the past few years, equalling what had taken two decades or a generation previously to achieve, a rapid glance at the legislation of the past six years, as recorded in the local *Hansard* volumes may not be inappropriate.

(a) *Finance.*

The custody of the purse and the holding of the purse-strings is altogether in the hands of Government. Honorary members have the right of closely scrutinizing every item, a right they exercise with much persistency, and often with great good to the public. The theory is that no money shall be spent until the sanction of the legislature has been obtained ; but this is not always adhered to, and supplementary votes, to cover expenditure already incurred, are not unknown. The revenue is, all things considered, large. If a similar amount were raised in India, proportionate to the population, hundreds of millions sterling would remain for the disposal of the Finance Minister. In addition

to Rs. 15,000,000 now raised as general revenue, there are Municipal taxes and various local cesses which, in a measure, would correspond with the local expenditure of presidencies and native States. However, it is useless to carry on the comparison between the money-chests of little Ceylon and huge India. Upon some classes of the community, and they among the poorest, taxation falls heavily; in the case of a cooly with a wife and one child living in Colombo, one-twelfth of his year's wages are absorbed in taxation. This is so unjust, and is capable of such facile adjustment, that the anomaly cannot exist long after full light is thrown upon it. Indian publicists, acquainted with the outcry, almost rebellion, which followed in India on the imposition of a direct money tax (on incomes), on visiting Ceylon, generally express almost incredulous surprise on being told that the commonest cooly, in common with all other able-bodied males save immigrant coolies, annually pays in hard cash the equivalent of six days' labour, for the up-keep of the roads. The author of the measure enacting this was Sir Philip Wodehouse, now Governor of Bombay, and it came into operation in 1849. A great injustice involved is, that the rate is not graduated; the wealthy merchant or high-placed civilian paying exactly the same as his cooly or horse-keeper; no more, no less. During the past few years surpluses of large amounts have overflowed the treasury, and most has been spent in "public works of acknowledged utility," as the legislative formula runs. The following table shows the main sources of revenue and expenditure: —

Estimate of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Colony of Ceylon, for the year 1876.

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.		Charges sanctioned by Ordinances Nos. 1 of 1870 and 8 of 1872.		ESTABLISHMENTS.		Sanctioned by Ordinance No. 12 of 1867.		Sanctioned by Ordinances Nos. 9 of 1869 and 6 of 1870.		Charges voted by the Legislative Council in Appropriation Ordinance for 1876		Works charged on Balances		Do. Surplus Funds		Do. Loan Board Funds		Surplus Revenue		Total ... Rs.	
Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
Arrears of Revenue of former years ...	250,000	0	...	Civil ...	...	...	1,143,371	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Customs ...	2,800,000	0	...	Judicial ...	...	...	628,635	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Port and Harbour Dues ...	100,000	0	...	Ecclesiastical ...	...	...	87,200	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Land Sales ...	760,000	0	...	Public Instruction ...	...	...	41,750	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Land Revenue ...	1,000,000	0	...	Medical ...	...	...	104,702	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rents, Exclusive of Land ...	400,000	0	...	Police ...	...	...	23,500	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Licenses ...	2,000,000	0	...	Prisons ...	...	...	10,650	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Stamps ...	1,110,000	0	...	Convict Establishment ...	...	...	15,705	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Taxes ...	45,000	0	...	Colonial Store ...	...	...	25,821	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postage ...	5,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fines, Forfeitures, and Fees of Court	86,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Government Vessels ...	50,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sale of Government Property ...	1,350,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Reimbursements in aid of Expenses incurred by Government ...	300,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous Receipts ...	280,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Interest ...	150,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pearl Fishery ...	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Special Receipts ...	8,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Receipts by the Crown Agents in London	5,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railway Receipts ...	2,750,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13,449,000	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Draft from Balances ...	1,451,917	73	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Surplus Funds ...	58,416	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Loan Board Funds ...	34,986	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	Rs. 14,994,320	76	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Council Chamber, Colombo, 15th December 1875.

ARTHUR N. BIRCH, Colonial Secretary.

The public debt is very small, and is incurred solely for reproductive works, such as railways and break-water works; in each sinking funds are provided. So prosperous has the island been, that one railway, the extension to Gampola, was constructed out of current revenue, and the debt on a continuation of this line will be redeemed in a very few years, when a hundred miles of the best paying railway in the world will be in the hands of Government, perfectly free of liability. During the earlier days of the council's existence, the proposal was made to raise loans for educational schemes, the loans to be liquidated by a sinking fund added to interest. The proposal, however, was firmly resisted by the (then) Governor, to the lasting detriment of the colony. Save from food taxes, and that on salt, the system on which the revenue is raised is sound: when the Home authorities cease to control the spending of it, there will be cause for congratulation.

(b) Legislation for Ceylonese Interests.

Considering that, according to theory, the affairs of Ceylon are administered by the British for the Ceylonese, one cannot repress an exclamation of surprise at the few measures in the statute book which directly concern the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen, and Malays. The reason of this, however, is not far to seek. Slavery disappeared soon after the British took possession of the island. Education was fostered, perfect personal liberty secured to all, without distinction of religion, race, and colour, and an improved system of judicature provided an honest judge: each of these measures was secured with little or no legislation, the Charter having established the superior courts at the time the council was called into existence, while slavery was finally abolished by an ordinance of two short clauses, and education became a matter of administration affected by annual votes in the Supply Bill. Much, indeed, has been done, and, in some respects, the position of the people is better than it was under the native monarchs: possibly, greater haste would have led to less solidity, but this is doubtful. Certain foundations have been laid; the time has now come for a superstructure to be erected upon them, and the people introduced to a wider sense of freedom and larger liberty, by which they may exercise the right of free citizens to control themselves rather than to be controlled by others. The very acts which have been passed by the old council, now straining from enlarged life to burst its bounds, have made this necessary. Give freedom to a people who have soundness at bottom, remove disabilities from their path, and not only does labour on their behalf cease, but they go on to do similar work for others. Seed has been sown and the time for the harvesting of results has come.

In the early days of the council the zeal for education was great; the fruit is seen in the fairly well-educated generation of men who are now fit, with European assistance, to legislate for themselves. The conflicting religious interests of the island, in years gone by, rendered much progress in education extremely difficult; long and stormy were the fights on the subject, until a system of grants-in-aid for purely secular results allayed the storm, and settled the "religious difficulty" which still vexes English statesmen. The energy expended in the struggle, when that struggle came to an end, was not so sedulously turned into the channels of the teaching as ought to have been the case; domestic slavery was gone, and the equality of all men, first taught by the Semitic race under the influence of the teaching of Christ, became a part of the inheritance of the Ceylonese individual. The *gamarala* (villager) suffered much from cattle trespass and cattle stealing, and became greatly demoralized thereby. Government stepped in and checked the evil; later on giving the aggrieved party power, in village council assembled, to do this for himself. Religious bondage, slavery to the soil, which especially fettered the tenants of Temple lands, as *rajakaña* [enforced labour for the king] had embraced the whole population, certain favoured classes excepted, was made a thing of the past to those who were willing to commute degrading services for a specie payment. Pecuniary aid and scientific assistance were granted to restore the ruined tanks, to repair the retaining bund, to fit in sluices, and once more to cause the precious fluid to lie upon the land and nurture the beautiful green springing blade of the rice-plant. As much was done in a few years as had been completed in a generation of the rule of the old kings, whose deeds, owing to the lapse of years, seem to the strained vision, as it peers across the centuries, fabulously large; and without oppression of the people. Peculiar phases of disease, resulting from bad food and impure water, were specially grappled with, and hospitals erected for the succour of the sick; whilst, in many parts of the land, medical aid, through duly-qualified doctors, was supplied. That the people have not more fully availed themselves of the advantages of European medical treatment, is due mainly to their own prejudices and apathy. When "the skies above are as brass and the land beneath as iron," which, unfortunately, too frequently happens in the East,—in Ceylon, however, thanks to its insular position, less frequently than India,—relief works are opened, and direct assistance given. It is the boast of England that, bad as are her Poor Laws, no one need die of starvation within the four seas of Britain, as sustenance at least is provided; yet a writer in the *Contemporary Review* (September 1875) tells of many authenticated deaths from starvation in one year. So prompt are

the authorities of Ceylon, so watchful the officials, and so pertinacious the unofficial members of council and the press, that no death from lack of food need take place in the island. Very different this to what happened less than a score of years ago, when it was found that several hundred persons had actually died of starvation, and nothing was known of this by the public till the official, who had charge of the district, took his papers from the pigeon-hole of his desk and compiled his annual report. The crowning work of the existing council, above the registration to titles and restriction of entails, so far as purely Ceylonese interests are concerned, was the passing, five years ago, of the Gansabhawa ordinance; by which village municipalities and village tribunals have been revived, and, so far as the administration of communal affairs is concerned, are working with as much perfection as anything human can be expected to attain. One high in authority in Ceylon, in a good position for observing the working of these institutions, says, in a letter: "So far as I can ascertain, everything is working admirably. I once told Sir Hercules Robinson [under whose rule the Gansabhawa ordinance was passed] by letter that had he done nothing else, it ought hereafter to be inscribed on his tombstone, 'he restored Village Councils to Ceylon.' Waves of conquest have rolled over India from Central Asian border-lands to the narrow spit of land where the continent dips into a great waste of waters stretching to the southern pole, but nowhere did conquest remove or overlay the foundation-stone of the Aryan social fabric. The empire changed, and at court, now one conqueror, now another sat on the imperial throne. But the depths of the social strata, the village system of "home rule," and the inhabitants thereof, were little more disturbed than are the minute *globigerina* which are laying a chalk bed in the mid-Atlantic, discomposed by a terrific storm which the while is swamping a stout ship or straining the stanchions of an iron steamer. Only the British "raj," among conquerors in the East, unwittingly applied a sponge to these ancient institutions, and, to some extent, wiped them out. Fruitless and regrettable task—for fuller experience shows that a durable structure of administration by the people for the people, can only be reared on these lines. Consequently, in India the *panchayat* is being revived, and in Ceylon the gansabhawa has been made once more to serve the many wants of village daily life, and to arouse the local ambition and energy of the people which had been crushed by the despotism of the ancient kings. To repeat, British rule in Ceylon has been particularly beneficent; true policy and enlightened statesmanship would argue that the trust and confidence aroused should be taken hold of, fostered, and directed to lasting good. "You have taught me self-govern-

ment, and have raised high hopes and ambition within me," may remark the educated Ceylonese, addressing his present rulers: "Now you will surely not deny me the privilege to exercise my powers? You have made of me a man. Stand just a little aside, (I do not mean, go away altogether), and permit me to attempt "manly things." Can the appeal be rejected? Forty and four years already have the people served an apprenticeship: shall they not now enter the Promised Land of Representative Government, for which they have longed, and to rightly appreciate which, all their political training has been directed?

(c) *European Interests.*

The fact that Ceylon, upon the partial ruin of the West India colonies when slave emancipation took place, rose into importance as a scene of European labour, which might at first sight seem to be a means of keeping back the Ceylonese from self-rule and self-control, has had the exactly contrary effect. Though it may seem as if the legislation of Ceylon during the past forty years has been, in the majority of cases, apparently for European interests, native interests have been *pari passu* served. This is true of nearly all the distinctively European ordinances, though it must be confessed the good which has resulted to the people was not in the original programme, and has merely been an illustration of the truth, that more ends are involved in particular acts than are dreamed of by the promoters. Ordinances have been passed in European interests to aid immigration, providing railway extension, medical aid for coolies, the formation of roads by grants-in-aid from the general revenue. Two ordinances may be specified as specially passed to please the coffee planters, viz., (1) ordinances to exempt manures from tolls, and (2) a bill providing special legislation against coffee stealing. The introduction of the last-named measure caused great commotion, as the well-known maxim of the English common law, "assume every man innocent until he be proved guilty," was altered to making every native who was found on a coffee estate—(estates are un-fenced and are "pathed" in every direction) explain for what purpose he was there; if necessity arose, making possessors of picked coffee prove that it was honestly obtained, and prohibiting the possession of green (unripe) coffee under a penalty. Being "special legislation," it was stoutly resisted on the unofficial side of the House, and a long debate ensued. The bill was nevertheless read a second time, but in committee repeated divisions took place. There was much in favour of this measure being passed, and it was drawn up on the recommendation of Sir Edward Creasy, Chief Justice, who had found that high prices had fostered crime, and that the heaviest sentences imposed under the existing law against theft, was inadequate to check the evil.

Two years' working of the ordinance has justified its introduction. District judges and police magistrates are not now much troubled with cases of coffee stealing, though prices have reached, and continue to maintain, an almost unexampled height. What is often asked for in Indian Presidency towns, in the interests of European employers, *viz.*, registration of servants, has been introduced into Ceylon with the best results. The measure was denounced, at its inception, as inquisitional, but a year's working led to the weeding of bad servants out of the ranks of "helps;" now it is as popular with *employés* as employers, and its operations are to be extended.

Even with its system of nominated representatives, the council has been of great service in educating the people in the use of deliberative assemblies; and it may now be considered what kind of institution is required to meet the necessities of the case were the present Chamber, its work done, removed from the place it has so long occupied. It was created by a despatch from the Colonial Office; it may be removed by equally facile means. Outside agitation for reform may, and will, be carried on. Nothing can be done inside the chamber, as certain instructions to the Governor forbid the question of the constitution of the assembly being broached at any of the meetings by any of the members, a most unfair and arbitrary rule.

II.

THE PEOPLE AS THEY ARE, AND THE CHAMBER THAT IS NEEDED.

"The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot, in our Eastern dominions, in which to plant the germ of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories.—*Report on Judicial Establishments and Procedure in Ceylon.* By C. H. Cameron, 1830-31.

POLITICAL FRANCHISE.

Nil.

The two immediately foregoing lines appear in the centre of a page of the annual Blue Book, and unlike other title-pages in the volume, has no section of details following. There being no political franchise, the question is prompted, in spite of what has already been written, "Is the inhabitant of Ceylon worthy of the franchise, and capable of rightly exercising such a trust?" The late Rev. Spence Hardy, a missionary of long standing in Ceylon, has described its climate by the experience of two individuals, the one reciting all the disadvantages and drawbacks of an oriental clime, the other summarising the many undoubted benefits. If a stranger were not informed that the descriptions referred to one and the same place, he would never of himself infer that they

did so. Similarly, two Englishmen resident in Ceylon may be taken, and if questioned with reference to the people, may give diverse answers. One may say that they are indolent, untrustworthy, unveracious, pretending to be attached to the British, whilst all the time they bitterly hate them, and so on, until there is not an offence against the decalogue, or sin against society, which they are not guilty of. Another Englishman, one who has mixed much with the people, will remark that undoubtedly the people have some bad qualities,—in short, are human,—that some of them have not the regard and love for truth which Englishmen are reputed to possess, but that they should not be unreasonably blamed on this account, as their antecedents have not been such as to cause them to be devoted to veracity. Subject races, the world over, slaves and others habitually oppressed, have never been notorious for truthfulness. That goes along with freedom. Further, he will say that the Burghers have many intellectual and kindred gifts, particularly those of a kindly nature; that the Tamils are fairly honest in business, energetic and pushing; the Moorman and Malay very good behind the counter, on the bungalow verandah with a pedlar's pack, or as a mason; whilst the Sinhalese, given fair opportunities, are not one whit behind any of their contemporaries of other races in the island; whilst it is as true of the Sinhalese and Tamils as it is of the Burghers that, with moderate facilities, they exhibit intellectual gifts and acquirements which make them the equals, in this respect at least, of Englishmen resident in the colony. It should never be lost sight of in dealing with Eastern races, those in Ceylon in particular, that the manner in which they were ruled in the past was such as to stifle all energy, all personal effort, and to make them mere puppets in the hands of a dissolute monarch surrounded generally with courtiers who fooled their master's whims to the top of their bent. All things considered, the inhabitants of Ceylon, those of Dravidian or Malayan race as well as those of Aryan extraction, have developed a faculty for self-government, and have progressed as rapidly as any race of people could do, with the consequence, that they are now fitted to occupy a higher position in the scale of nations than that they have hitherto filled. Perhaps, of the half-dozen nationalities represented in the population of Ceylon, the true "sons of the soil," the Sinhalese, are least thought of by Europeans as possessing abilities which should entitle them to a position of equality with the alien rulers; yet, known as individuals, they are learned and industrious, and as communities not without a deal of energy. This latter characteristic has been especially displayed in the working of the Village Communities' ordinance; and the administration reports of the Government agents contain many passages which might be

cited in proof of the assertion. Fruit of the richest and ripest kind is being garnered from the agriculturists, a class wanting the active life of the town. If this is so in the hidden recesses of the jungle and among paddy-fields, what may not be expected of those in whose minds the leaven of the century is working, who would be the main body of electors in a scheme of reform, by whose suffrages the members of the representative institution for which the colony is now ripe, would be sent to legislate? The success of the Village Communities' ordinance has been turned against it; and some who are not disposed that their Ceylonese fellow-citizens should have equal rights with themselves, object to it, because there have not been rowdy violence and keenly-contested elections when village councils have been formed. That there has been neither bribery nor rowdyism, one would think was rather a proof in favour of the institution than an argument to show that it has failed. It only needs that the Tamils, who have their own governing bodies, meeting weekly for the transaction of business concerning the community, should turn a similar amount of attention to public matters to place them on a level with the Sinhalese *in this respect*, and both races combined, with a good infusion of Burghers and Europeans, would make as active and intelligent a community as could almost be desired. It is not argued that there would at once be the smoothness of procedure and facility of working which marks institutions of ancient growth and long continued practice; it would be a pity if there were. Better that there should be mistakes and something of awkwardness at starting, with the chance of further attaining unto perfection, than that success in such matters, which has been gained at great cost by others, should be too easily acquired. If the object were too easily obtained, it would not be rightly valued.

Spite of the instances before their eyes in the present able Ceylonese members of the local legislature, Europeans in Ceylon often find it difficult to imagine that dark-skinned gentlemen, habited somewhat differently from themselves, should possess statesmanlike ability, or be able by power of speech to take a good grasp of a subject, and reason logically upon it. As though facility of utterance and a logical mind were matters of dress! It doth not appear in *Hansard*, nor hath it ever been recorded in contemporary history, that the county members of the House of Commons, who second the reply to the Queen's speech, are more eloquent than other members of Parliament, although they rise to address the speaker in all the bravery of a Deputy-Lieutenant's uniform, gorgeous and unique as that was before an order of court changed the tapering swallow-tails into the more decorous lappets of a surtout coat! Strong sticklers for the rights and privileges granted to them, Ceylonese legislators would in

all probability become; the pages of the *Ceylon Hansard*, for the past two years give ample evidence of this. Sturdy patriotism and not subservient time-serving would, it may safely be predicted, be the prevailing characteristic of the Ceylon House of Representatives.

The material interests of the island, alike of European and Ceylonese, demand that legislative power to a greater extent than is now possessed, and a machinery which will work more smoothly and rapidly than the present, should be provided. Proof of this is seen in the backward state of many of the provinces, exclusively Ceylonese, and one of the most important parts of the island, the Jaffna peninsula in the north, being so completely shut out from the capital and the most progressive parts of the island as to seem almost a foreign land. It is a Tamil who suggests in the newspapers the placing of a mail cart on a road just completed, which would bring Jaffna within twenty-four hours' journey of Colombo, and it is a European Government which peremptorily refuses to do this. The consequence of Jaffna being thus shut off from the rest of the island is, that a great part of her active people, the keenest in the community, go across the "silver streak," and the Madras Presidency has the benefit of their talents. To the European a reform is most urgently required. A remarkable illustration is afforded in the feeble and dilatory manner with which the home Colonial authorities have dealt with the subject of railway extension, while "some one should be hanged" for the criminal waste of time in regard to water works for Colombo. It is impossible to fairly rule Ceylon from Downing-street, six thousand miles distant, and it is little short of a crime to attempt it. Materially this is true. Socially and politically it is equally patent. After nearly eighty years' occupation of the island only a miserably small sum is expended for educational purposes, and the system of education is not an iota ahead of what was taught in English grammar and day schools in the early part of the century. This would not have been the case had the inhabitants been given more power in council: proof that this is no mere assertion made at random may be found in one fact. As soon as the gansabhawa ordinance gave the people control over education, they established schools with great rapidity *for girls* as well as for boys; made attendance compulsory on pain of fine, with the further punishment that if the parent continued contumacious he should be deprived of his vote for the village council, and declared ineligible to sit as an assessor in the tribunal to try breaches of communal law. On-lookers, struck by the advanced position Ceylon has attained, compared, say with one of the Indian Presidencies, think there is great cause for gratulation. But when all the circumstances

are taken into consideration, the feeling should be one of shame that so little has been done. Twelve years under a Representative Government, might be trusted to do as much as a generation of the present system has accomplished. It may be not inappropriate here to sketch the kind of assembly for which the colony is now ripe, placing as a porch to the edifice to be described, an abstract of the population of the various divisions of the land. In the distribution of seats, numbers have been kept in view to some extent, though the proportion of existing schools has been considered.

POPULATION OF CEYLON.

Western Province.

Colombo District	...	...	...	578,721
Sabaragamua District	...	...	...	92,277
Kegalla District	...	...	...	105,287
				<hr/> 776,285

Central Province.

Kandy District	...	...	...	258,432
Matale District	...	...	...	71,724
Nuwara Eliya District	...	...	...	36,184
Badulla District	...	...	...	129,000
				<hr/> 495,340

Southern Province.

Galle District	...	...	...	195,416
Matara District	...	...	...	143,379
Hambantota District	...	...	...	60,960
				<hr/> 399,755

Northern Province.

Jaffna District	...	...	...	216,185
Manaar District	...	...	...	25,645
Mullaitivu District	...	...	...	10,058
				<hr/> 281,788

North-Western Province.

Kurunegala District	...	...	...	207,885
Puttalam District	...	...	...	61,199
				<hr/> 269,084

Eastern Province.

Batticaloa District	...	...	...	93,220
Trincomalee District	...	...	...	20,070
				<hr/> 113,290

North-Central Province.

Nuwera Kalawiya District	...	...	...	58,972
Tamaukaduwa	...	...	...	4,768
Demala Pattuwa	...	...	...	6,980
				<hr/> 70,720

PROPOSED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

- 13 Officials, Heads of Departments, viz., the Major-General, the Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Auditor-General, Treasurer, Government Agents—Western, Central, Southern, Northern, Eastern, North-Western, and North-Central Provinces; Surveyor-General and Collector of Customs.
- 1 European, elected by Chamber of Commerce (Colombo and Galle).
- 5 Colombo,—(elected by people) representing European, Burgher, Tamil, Sinhalese, Moor and Malay Communities.
- 1 Kandy (race indifferent).
- 1 Galle ditto.
- 1 Jaffna ditto.
- 1 Dimbula, Dikoya and Maskeliya (coffee districts).
- 1 Uva ditto.
- 1 Districts north of Kandy, including Kadugannawa and Kurunegala on the west.
- 1 Districts east of Kandy, including Hantane, Nilambe, Pussellawa, Ramboda, &c.

Western Province.

- 3 Colombo District.
- 1 Subaragamuwa District.
- 1 Kegalla ditto.

Central Province.

- 1 Kandy District.
- 1 Matale ditto.
- 1 Nuwera Eliya and Badulla.

Southern Province.

- 1 Galle District.
- 1 Matara ditto.

Northern Province.

- 1 Jaffna District, including Manaar.
- 1 Mullaitivo ditto.

North-Western Province.

- 1 Kurunegalla District.

Eastern Province.

- 1 Batticaloa and Trincomalee

North-Central Province.

- 1 Anaradhapura and District.

41 in all, including Speaker, to be nominated from amongst the members.

The qualification for the franchise might be,—in Municipalities the contribution to municipal taxes; in coffee districts, the managing or assisting in the management of a coffee estate, such manager or assistant to be over twenty-one years of age; while in out-lying districts, possession of property of a certain value, or payment of rates levied by local improvement boards, or having a vote for village councils, should constitute qualifications for a vote for the Legislature. A clause in the Charter granting some such scheme as has been shadowed forth, might permit the House year by year to add to the voting power of a district by permitting newly-constituted Gansabhawa voters to be added to the register. The union between town and village life and national affairs, could not fail to be in the best degree stimulating and healthily beneficial to the people. A veto upon legislation might be placed in the hands of the Governor; who, in his turn, would be responsible to the Home authorities, to whom he would send full minutes of proceedings. The present Executive Council, consisting of four chief officials, should be enlarged, having as many elected members as officials: these members should hold office for three years only, and, if Europeans, should have been in the island at least three years. The Governor should not have a seat in the assembly,* but a Speaker should be selected. Salaries should be given to the unofficial members of the Executive, who should hold portfolios of agriculture, and similar matters. Elections might be triennial, and the sense of responsibility could then be brought prominently before the people, who also could not fail to benefit by the frequent communications which would take place between members and their constituents. The representative of "gay wisdom" in the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, addressing his constituents recently, reminded them, that when members of the Lower House were dismissed from Westminster, the Queen sent them "to their duties in the country." He confessed he was puzzled to know what these duties were: in his own case, for instance, as a county magistrate, the principal duty seemed to be to license one

* It is lowering to the dignity of the Queen's Representative to take part in the often rough give-and-take style of oratory of such institutions. Mixing in petty matters the vice-regal office is not raised in esteem. Governors are but men, and they naturally take much interest in public measures. Amongst the traditions of the present House is one which tells of a Governor highly offended at persistent opposition to a Government bill, deliberately turning

his chair round and sitting with his back to an Hon. member during the whole time he was speaking. Further, the President became very wroth, broke the rules of the House in regard to the bill, and was only restored to his wonted composure by asking the Senior Member to temporarily occupy the chair, whilst he went to one of the open windows and watched some military athletic sports being carried out on a *maidan* near!

set of people to make others drunk. The phrase quoted might be a reality in Ceylon, if only members of the right stamp were elected, and this would certainly be the case if the reform were initiated *con amore*. A member's duty, so far as the purely Ceylonese constituencies were concerned, would be only half-filled by the three or four months' legislation in the year. Properly carried out a member would only do his duty when he made frequent visits to the people he represented, and thereby bring them into contact with the civilization and progress of the age, in the active life of which, he would show they were taking a part. Given arrangements of the nature indicated, and there would be provided, what is now greatly needed, *viz.*, scope for the ambition of able men among the Ceylonese who, if they find their lawful aspirations checked, may thwart rather than aid in the solution of social and political problems which England in the East has to meet. At present the way for advancement is not made plain in the manner indicated.

The cry is often uttered that, in matters of legislation, India wants rest. Perhaps so; rest at least from ill-considered, injudicious interference with the people, but it is on the face of the remark monstrous to insinuate that English rule has been so beneficent from Cashmere to Comorin that her rulers may henceforth "rest from their labours" for their "works will follow them." Nothing is farther from the truth in India, and nothing is less in accordance with fact in Ceylon. The last-named land has mineral resources to develop, but they are few: its wealth consists of its broad acres, and apart from the uppermost slopes of the highest hills there is, perhaps, not more than a hundred thousand acres which could not be made annually to yield produce. There are tracts of cultivable lands, supplied with tanks repaired and fit for use, or needing only very slight additions to make available for storage of water, waiting to be colonised: this will never be done under the present system of rule. Under a popular Government what is desiderated might be accomplished; it is as certain as anything actually unattained can be that it would be done. This is the only way in which rich results would be seen to follow from a more generous and enlightened policy of rule. With things remaining as they are, while there is some cause for congratulation at what has been done, there is more occasion for regret and shame that so much lies unattempted.

III.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

The whole case, from a material point of view, for the establishment of wider and more popular institutions, may be shown in a

double row of figures. The present council was established in 1834: if suitable for the state of things existing then, it is unsuitable now. Every single item in the "Statistical Review of the Progress of Ceylon," appended to the Blue Book shows this, as will appear from comparing the following returns:—

Population.*	Military.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Schools.	Scholars.	Revenue.	Expenditure	Shipping.	Imports.	Exports.
1834. 1,167,700	6,227	21,930	7,527	17,486	1,105	13,891	£ 377,952	£ 334,835	Tons. 153,510	£ 372,726	£ 145,834
1875. 2,452,542	1,716	67,285	13,837	53,363	1,570	73,020	1,354,123	1,220,180	2,216,403	5,361,240	5,375,410

This marvellous development, as great for an Asiatic colony as the rise of Chicago or Melbourne in American or Anglo-Saxon communities, demands better treatment than it at present receives from the Colonial Office. Nothing more nor less than the measure of freedom which fathers give their sons when the latter are too old to be kept at home.—Not that Ceylon, as a consequence of greater freedom, is likely to desire to break away altogether from England: the rather would the bonds which connect her with the British dominions be riveted. The diverse races in the island, instead of seeking to have dominance one over the other, are being drawn together to think and act as the people: the distinctive race-names are giving place to the comprehensive and descriptive appellation of Ceylonese. It is not possible to conceive of a time when British agricultural interest in Ceylon should cease. It is too profitable to be given up by those engaged in it, as is sometimes urged would be the case, were justice done to the people in the manner indicated in this paper. An English governor will, necessarily, rule whilst connection with Great Britain is kept up. Compensation may be found probably in Ceylonese attaining high honours in the Imperial Parliament, or being even sent to rule distant provinces of the federated constitution of the future. Experience proves that it is not wise to make local magnates supreme local rulers.

To sum up, the contentions of this paper may be formulated in the following propositions, which, it is hoped, have to some extent, been proved, and which show the desirability for those who have the power to grant reform, not to be slack in well-doing, but by justice and generous dealing stave off agitation and bring affairs as they are in concert with institutions which have yet to be created. It is maintained—

* Estimated.

208 *Eurasians as Leaven in India and Ceylon.*

(a) That the interests of the island suffer grievously from the necessity for referring everything to Downing-street for decision ;

(b) That full justice is not done to the island, because those most acquainted with its wants are denied a share in its government ;

(c) That, with almost unexampled opportunities, all progress save that which is material has been comparatively slow and intermittent: much has been done, vastly much more might have been accomplished ;

(d) That the people of the land have displayed an astonishing fitness for self-government, and that, therefore, the duty of the English rulers is to recognise the manhood it has developed, and give fair play to the qualities it has been the means of bringing forth ;

(e) That the experiment of ruling the East through the people of Eastern lands will, of necessity, have to be made; and that a better theatre than Ceylon for the inception of the new rule, cannot be conceived, the action of the people themselves having already taken the proposal out of the region of experiment ; and

(f) Opportunity calls for action.

WM. DIGBY.

POETRY:—THE ROYAL ASCETIC AND THE HIND.
FROM THE VISHNU PURANA. B. II. C. XIII.

MAITREYA.

Of old thou gav'st a promise to relate
The deeds of Bharat, that great hermit-king :
Beloved Master, now the occasion suits,
And I am all attention.

PARASARA.

Brahman, hear.

With a mind fixed intently on his gods
Long reigned in Saligram of ancient fame,
The mighty monarch of the wide, wide world.
Chief of the virtuous, never in his life
Harmed he, or strove to harm, his fellow-man,
Or any creature sentient. But he left
His kingdom in the forest-shades to dwell,
And changed his sceptre for a hermit's staff,
And with ascetic rites, privations rude,
And constant prayers, endeavoured to attain
Perfect dominion on his soul. At morn,
Fuel, and flowers, and fruit, and holy grass,
He gathered for oblations ; and he passed
In stern devotions all his other hours ;
Of the world heedless, and its myriad cares,
And heedless too of wealth, and love, and fame.

Once on a time, while living thus, he went
To bathe where through the wood the river flows :
And his ablutions done, he sat him down
Upon the shelving bank to muse and pray.
Thither impelled by thirst a graceful hind,
Big with its young, came fearlessly to drink.
Sudden, while yet she drank, the lion's roar,
Feared by all creatures, like a thunder-clap
Burst in that solitude from a thicket nigh.
Startled, the hind leapt up, and from her womb
Her offspring tumbled in the rushing stream.
Whelmed by the hissing waves and carried far
By the strong current swollen by recent rain,
The tiny thing still struggled for its life,
While its poor mother, in her fright and pain,
Fell down upon the bank and breathed her last.

Uprose the hermit-monarch at the sight
Full of keen anguish; with his pilgrim staff
He drew the new-born creature from the wave;
'Twas panting fast, but life was in it still.
Now, as he saw its luckless mother dead,
He would not leave it in the woods alone,
But with the tenderest pity brought it home.
There, in his leafy hut, he gave it food,
And daily nourished it with patient care,
Until it grew in stature and in strength,
And to the forest skirts could venture forth
In search of sustenance. At early morn
Abenceforth it used to leave the hermitage
Tnd with the shades of evening come again,
And in the little courtyard of the hut
Lie down in peace, unless the tigers fierce,
Prowling about, compelled it to return
Earlier at noon. But whether near or far,
Wandering abroad, or resting in its home,
The monarch-hermit's heart was with it still,
Bound by affection's ties; nor could he think
Of anything besides this little hind,
His nursling. Though a kingdom he had left,
And children, and a host of loving friends,
Almost without a tear, the fount of love
Sprang out anew within his blighted heart,
To greet this dumb, weak, helpless foster-child.
And so, whene'er it lingered in the wilds,
Or at the 'customed hour could not return,
His thoughts went with it; "And alas!" he cried,
"Who knows, perhaps some lion, or some wolf,
Or ravenous tiger with relentless jaws
Already hath devoured it,—timid thing!
Lo, how the earth is dinted with its hoofs,
And variegated. Surely for my joy
It was created. When will it come back,
And rub its budding antlers on my arms
In token of its love and deep delight
To see my face? The shaven stalks of grass,
Kusha and kasha, by its new teeth clipped,
Remind me of it, as they stand in lines
Like pious boys who chant the Samga Veds
Shorn by their vows of all their wealth of hair."
Thus passed the monarch-hermit's time; in joy,
With smiles upon his lips, whenever near

His little favourite ; in bitter grief
And fear, and trouble, when it wandered far.
And he who had abandoned ease and wealth,
And friends, and dearest ties, and kingly power,
Found his devotions broken by the love
He had bestowed upon a little hind
Thrown in his way by chance. Years glided on.
And Death, who spareth none, approached at last
The hermit-king to summon him away ;
The hind was at his side with tearful eyes
Watching his last sad moments, like a child
Beside a father. He too, watched and watched
His favorite through a blinding film of tears,
And could not think of the Beyond at hand,
So keen he felt the parting, such deep grief
O'erwhelmed him for the creature he had reared.
To it devoted was his last, last thought,
Reckless of present and of future both !

Thus far the pious chronicle, writ of old
By Brahman sage ; but we, who happier, live
Under the holiest dispensation, know
That God is Love, and not to be adored
By a devotion born of stoic pride,
Or with ascetic rites, or penance hard,
But with a love, in character, akin
To His unselfish all-including love.
And therefore little can we sympathise
With what the Brahman sage would fain imply
As the concluding moral of his tale,
That for the hermit-king it was a sin
To love his nursling. What ! A sin to love !
A sin to pity ! Rather should we deem
Whatever Brahmans wise, or monks may hold,
That he had sinned in *casting off* all love
By his retirement to the forest-shades ;
For that was to abandon duties high,
And, like a recreant soldier, leave the post
Where God had placed him as a sentinel.

This little hind brought strangely on his path,
This love engendered in his withered heart,
This hindrance to his rituals,—might these not
Have been ordained to teach him ? Call him back
To ways marked out for him by Love divine ?
And with a mind less self-willed to adore ?

212 *The Royal Ascetic and the Hina.*

Not in seclusion, not apart from all,
Not in a place elected for its peace,
But in the heat and bustle of the world,
'Mid sorrow, sickness, suffering and sin,
Must he still labour with a loving soul
Who strives to enter through the narrow gate.

TORU DUTT.

26th July, 1876.

SINGATEGONE.

Here where the pies are peaceful,
Here where all clamours cease
And life is cool and easeful
Of half its miseries,
I turn from codes and cases
To dream of distant places
And pleasant plans and places
Across the sultry seas.

I'm sick of act and section,
And never ending quest
Among the crude collection
Of methods to molest :
Each hour and minute galls me,
Each petty plaint appals me
But one desire enthrals me—
Desire for utter rest.

Here where the weak winds wander
I lie in blank repose,
Nor care if leagues down yonder
The town has fire and foes ;
Dacoits may prowl and pillage,
A stream may swamp the tillage
Or flames consume a village ;
To-day I dream and doze.

Though one were strong and able
He could not long abide
The pitiless, unstable
Harsh fate which bids him hide
The fever and the fetters,
The friends and the forgetters,
The lean unlovely letters
Which chafe and change and chide.

Could death itself be duller
Then thus decay among
An alien clime and colour
An alien time and tongue,
To pine with drear persistence
For aught to break the distance,
This hybrid half-existence
Unsing and unsung ?

Ah youthful friends and fancies
 Who loved to fable here
 A realm of old romances
 With fame and fortune near,
 One waft of English weather
 One scent of Scottish heather
 Is worth the titled tether
 Which binds to Belvedere !

The sun's gold disk is drooping
 Through a shower of golden rain,
 The purple trees are trooping
 Into darkness down the plain ;
 The last faint shafts are streaming
 The last faint tints are gleaming,
 To-day is done with dreaming,
 To-morrow toil again.

H. L. St. B.

May. 1876.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhubanmohini Pratibhá. Edited and published by Novin Chandra Mukhopadháya. First part. Gupta Press. Sakavda, 1797.

WE have heard that this book has been written by a Bengali lady. It consists of 20 poetical pieces. The poetry is impassioned, and in some cases very graceful and delicate. It is generally weird and melancholy in its tone, and is sometimes very wild and vague. In many places it evinces want of taste and a morbid fancy. There is considerable variety of metre combined with great power of expression. Most of the pieces should have been shorter than they are.

Mensuration for Beginners, with numerous Examples. By F. Todhunter, M. A., F. R. S. Translated into Bengali by Raj Krishna Mookerjee, M.A. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., Publishers to the Calcutta University. 1876.

BABU RAJ KRISHNA MOOKERJEE is well known in native literary circles. He is a man of various talents. An accomplished English and Bengali scholar, he has written some good original poems, an historical novel, an admirable history of Bengal, and several school-books. He was a very valuable contributor to the *Vanga Darsana* when that excellent periodical was in existence, and some of his English essays afford ample proof of his extensive acquirements in that language. We value his scholarship, but we value still more his labors in the cause of the education of his own countrymen. His works on algebra, grammar, and the history of Bengal, are excellent as school-books, and the book under notice, though only a translation, speaks well for himself, and will be of immense use to Bengali boys receiving instruction in our schools. A knowledge of the principles of mensuration is indispensable in a country where the land forms the chief source of the wealth of its inhabitants; and the present work will be of incalculable benefit to the country, especially when the *gurumahashaya* has in many places ceased to teach the old rules of land-measurement in the old way. Babu Raj Krishna's labors in the cause of his country's education deserve a grateful recognition, and ought to satisfy everybody that the educated Hindu is not wanting

in sympathy with the great mass of people who claim his own nationality.

The Vyavasayi; or A Journal of Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacture. Edited by Srinath Datta, Under-Graduate, London: Under the patronage of the Government of Bengal. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2, Bhadra and Aswin, 1283 B. S. Bhowanipore. Printed at the Somprakas Press by K. N. Chakravarti.

WE hail the appearance of this periodical with immense pleasure. It is the first Bengali periodical of its kind in this country: Its main object seems to be to discuss agricultural topics; to compare the agricultural systems of England and India, and to point out how Indian agriculture could be improved and rendered more profitable than it is at present. The object is extremely good, and Babu Srinath Datta seems to be *the* man among the natives of India who is best fitted to accomplish it. For he has lately returned from England after making a practical study of the agricultural system of that country. The first two numbers of his journal are supremely interesting, and are characterised throughout by sound common sense and a thorough appreciation of the peculiar nature of Indian agriculture. He does not think that the English system of agriculture can be transferred bodily into India. He is of opinion that that system, if adopted in this country, ought to be largely modified. And this is just what any sensible man would say who takes note of the striking difference in the physical and climatic conditions of England and India. Considered in this light Babu Srinath Datta's journal is eminently practical.

That Indian agriculture is not in a satisfactory condition is proved by the fact that, whereas a biga of land produces about 8 to 10 maunds of wheat in England, in India it produces no more than 3 maunds of that valuable article of food. That this agriculture is susceptible of very great improvement is proved by the fact that a European gentleman, who cultivated wheat on a small scale in or near Cawnpore, was able to raise 6½ maunds of wheat—more than half the English quantity—on each biga, and to clear on the whole a profit of 50 per cent. upon his total outlay. But the important question now arises, who is to improve Indian agriculture? Babu Srinath Datta does not formally discuss this question, and the little that he does say about it seems to us to show an inadequate appreciation of its difficulty and importance. He thinks that the law relating to enhancement of rent prevents the Indian rāyat from increasing the productive power of his land. This is, we think, an error. For the Indian rent-law specially precludes enhancement of rent when any improvement has taken place through the agency of the rāyat himself. The true cause of agricultural neglect, so far

as the ráyat is concerned, lies far deeper than is usually imagined. The Indian ráyat—a creature of superstition and a slave of custom—dislikes change. The Indian ráyat, oppressed too long and too cruelly, is a demoralised thing—timid, lifeless, apathetic—that shrinks from enterprise. The Indian ráyat is poorer than the poor—he is eternally indebted to the Zamindár or the mahajun. *He* is not the man to improve the country's agriculture—at least to take any important *initiative*. There is, however, a large class of people in this country who occupy a status in society far higher than that of the ráyat, who do not live exactly from hand to mouth, and who, as lákherajdars, maurusidars and mocruridars, possess a very substantial interest in the soil. This is the class from which village schools in this country are chiefly recruited, and we think that, if hope lies anywhere, it lies *here*. At present the children of this class receive an essentially literary education, which creates a distaste for agricultural pursuits and gives a rude shock to agricultural instincts and traditions. We think that, if the system of education in the village schools were so framed as not to destroy but to foster and strengthen the agricultural traditions of the class which is chiefly represented on their rolls, the right frame of mind could be obtained and the most essential condition secured for effecting a wholesome change in the economic aspect of the country. The alteration proposed might be effected without imparting a technical character to our village schools. A book or two, describing the uses and profitableness of agriculture in easy and popular language, might serve the purpose. And such a book, if written by Babu Srinath Datta, would be eminently successful in imparting a healthy tone to the Bengali mind at a time when it receives the training which is chiefly answerable for the fortunes of an entire life.

What we have said does not exhaust the question. But our space is limited.

Dipa-Nirwan. Calcutta. Printed by Kali Kinkara Chakravarti, at the Válmiki Press. 1283 B. S.

WE have read this book with profound interest, for it has been written by a young Bengali lady. Our information regarding the authorship is of the most reliable character, and we can honestly impart it to our readers as one which is unimpeachably correct. Well, this book by a Bengali girl is an extremely creditable performance. Let us see what it is. It is a novel describing the story of the extinction of India's liberty in consequence of the defeat of *Prithwi-Raj* in the battle of Thaneswara. We shall briefly tell the story. *Prithwi-Raj*, King of Ajmir, is sitting upon the throne of Delhi in accordance with a bequest

made by his grandfather who preferred him to his elder cousin *Jaichandra*, King of Kanauj. He has an only daughter *Usávatí*—beautiful both in mind and body—who loves *Kalyan Sing* the eldest son of *Samara Sing*, King of Chitore. But the hand of *Usávatí* is also coveted by an ambitious and designing young man named *Vijaya*, the only son of *Prithwi-Raj's* able and devoted minister. *Vijaya* wants *Usávatí*, because *Usávatí*, as *Prithwi-Raj's* only child, can give him the throne of Delhi. But *Usávatí* does not want *Vijaya*. In an interview which takes place between the high-souled princess and the crafty youth, and which has been described by the fair authoress of *Dípa-nirwan* with great tact and ability, the former communicates her resolution to the latter in a manner which looks like a mild but decisive clencher. The disappointed youth conceives from this moment an implacable hatred for *Usávatí* and her lover *Kalyan Sing*, and vows eternal vengeance against both. To poison the deep and sacred love which has sprung up between the princess and the prince, *Vijaya* has recourse to some very wicked machinations in which with inconceivable hypocrisy and unfathomable villany he employs as his tool a simple, artless and love-inflamed girl named *Goláp*, the beloved companion of *Usávatí* and sister of *Chánd Kavi* the renowned soldier, poet and patriot. And to obtain the throne of Delhi he becomes a traitor to his country, his father and his king, and secretly pledges his service to Muhammad Ghori, who has now invaded India for the second time. The two plots succeed remarkably; the first in virtue of *Vijaya's* masterly villany, the second in virtue of that villany coupled with Fate, which, however, proves in the end as much hostile to *Vijaya* as it is to India all through the progress of the momentous events which finally culminate in the terrible catastrophe of *Tháneswara*. *Goláp*—simple and artless but furiously enamoured of *Vijaya*—believes *Vijaya's* professions of love, and agrees to act as she is bid. Guided by *Vijaya*, she informs *Kalyan* that *Usávatí* loves her own lover; and though *Kalyan* is slow to believe this, he is soon made the witness of a spectacle which to one not behind the archfiend's screen is incontestable proof of falsehood, perfidy and poison. This ocular proof is furnished by *Goláp* at a meeting between *Kalyan* and *Usávatí*, which has been described with exquisite art. The result of this interview is an indignant and scornful repudiation of *Usávatí* by *Kalyan*. But the shock is too strong for the tender *Usávatí*—she faints, falls upon her marble floor, receives a severe wound in her head, gets fever accompanied with a coma from which there is no conscious awaking except for one brief interval, and which after subsisting for a long time quietly merges into eternal sleep,

just at the moment when the dagger of treachery is found piercing India's Liberty on the plain of Tháneswara. But *Goláp*, simple and love-inflamed though she be, has after all a good soul. She repents as soon as as she finds that things have taken a serious turn with her favorite *Usávatí*. She hastens to *Kalyan* with all the letters which *Vijaya* has written to her. The villany is proved. But alas! it has already done its fatal work. Between the infliction of the blow and the discovery of the plot there has not been a moment of time for explanation and apology. *Kalyan* can only grieve and curse himself and die in battle for a speedy union in Heaven with the spirit of her who has perished for him on earth, resigned and uncomplaining and with a universe of faith in his love. *Goláp* is a miserable maniac all the rest of her life.

The political plot runs thus. *Vijaya* is entrusted by his father with the duty of going round to all the princes and chiefs of Hindustan as an envoy from *Prithwi-Raj* inviting co-operation and support in the impending struggle with the Muhammadans. *Vijaya* represents the situation of his sovereign in terms which excite little enthusiasm and produce much delay and irregularity in the sending of auxiliaries to Delhi. He next enters the Moslem Camp and strikes up an infamous bargain with Muhammad Ghorí for the throne of Delhi as the price of his treachery. Fate continues to favour his plans from this moment. For *Chánd Kavi*, who now comes to the Moslem Camp as a spy and sees and hears all that passes between *Vijaya* and *Muhammad Ghorí*, is himself detected and imprisoned. And, again, when a Hindu and a Muhammadan are overheard some time later on the top of a hill during a conversation implying treachery on the part of the former, and *Prabhávatí* the wife of *Chánd Kavi* and her companion *Sailaválá*, who have heard this conversation whilst on their way to Delhi to concert measures for *Chánd Kavi's* rescue, communicate this information to *Kirun Sing*, *Samara Sing's* youngest son, who is also travelling from Delhi towards the Moslem Camp for *Chánd Kavi's* sake, it so happens that *Kirun* meets *Vijaya*, the very Hindu who has talked treachery without being recognised. And this circumstance diverts *Kirun* from his intention of going personally to Delhi to inform *Prithwi-Raj* of what he has heard and leads to his entrusting the traitor himself with that important business! Certainly it looks something like a defect in the story that *Kirun Sing*, who learns that a Hindu has held treacherous consultation with a Mussulman, who encounters that Mussulman, and who meets a Hindu almost the very next moment at no great distance from the place of that encounter and that consultation, does not even suspect that that very Hindu might be the person whose conversation has been overheard. But what seems a defect is indeed the beauty of the story. For it is a well-known though somewhat

mysterious fact that strange stupidity sometimes seizes the minds of men who are placed within the sombre shadow of a great adverse destiny. And this destiny leads to further mishaps in the present instance. For when *Kavi Chandra* is rescued by *Kirun* and informed of the adventure on the hill, he hastens towards Delhi to acquaint *Prithwi-Raj* with the circumstances of *Vijaya's* treachery, but is prevented by the circuitous nature of his journey from reaching his destination in time. Thus the traitor's plot succeeds. The Hindus and Mussulmans meet on the plain of Thanewara. After a victorious struggle, the Hindus sink under treachery. They lose their greatest soldiers—*Samara Sing* and *Kalyan Sing*, worthy representatives of the royal house of Chitore. *Prithwi-Raj*, captured in war, dies a death full of glory to himself and his race, full of shame and infamy to the barbarous Moslem. A slave-king sits on the throne of *Yudhisthir* and *Yaumajaya*.

A prison is the reward of the traitor *Vijaya*.

Such, in short, is the story of *Dipa-Nirwan*; and this story, we are glad to say, has been admirably told by the fair authoress. It is not indeed free from defects and hitches. We think that the long story of *Kirun Sing* and *Sailaválá*, with all the charm and grace and poetry which belong to it, is an artistic blunder. It raises expectations which are not fulfilled. Characters whose prominence is surmised at the outset, for whom the whole book seems to be intended, and with and around whom all events and personages are expected to be connected and grouped—these characters, we say, dwindle into insignificant proportions, are nearly lost in the shadow of new characters, become shorn of all their interest and importance, and are driven into distant outskirts where men and events influence them not and are little influenced by them. *Kirun Sing* and *Sailaválá* disappoint us, because they do not turn out to be the hero and the heroine which their long early history promises to make of them. And this disappointment in the reader's mind indicates defect of art in the author. Then, again, we cannot understand how *Vijaya* heard of *Kalyan Sing's* intention to see *Usávatí* on the day which proved so fatal to the two lovers. The intention was the result of a sudden impulse and the only person to whom it could have been communicated is *Kirun Sing*. But supposing this to have been done, communication to a third person was impossible; because *Kirun Sing* did not leave his house and was not visited by any one else, at least for such time as must have sufficed for *Kalyan's* short and hasty walk to the palace. At any rate, so short a time was not sufficient for the making of an inquiry and the writing of a letter of instructions to *Golap*. There are some more defects. But in spite of all its defects, *Dipa-*

Nirwan is a story admirably told. The intrigues of *Vijaya* have been unfolded with great skill and ability. The story of the war has been related with true epic fire—with great boldness of thought and great warmth of feeling. *Prithwi-Raj's* address to his soldiers is a masterpiece. And the imagery in which Thaneshwara is represented as a *Smashan* (burning ground), which gradually increases in size till it embraces all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, is truly weird and profound. With perfect propriety the story of the war on the side of the Hindus has been invested with a devotional character, of which *Samara Sing*, the hermit-king, seems to be a colossal impersonation on the plain of Thaneshwara, and which has greatly heightened the sublimity of the last Aryan struggle for the sovereignty of India. The love story has been concluded with immense enthusiasm and and imaginative power.

We must say a few words regarding the female characters in the story. *Usávatí* is all spirit and no matter. And that spirit is only another name for purity, gentleness, veneration and love. She is also strong, though that strength is all of the mind. She feels deeply; she wills strongly; but she cannot act. For she is all mind and no body. If she had possessed a body she should have remembered the wound in her head, for she does not forget everything during her last illness. Perhaps that illness is only a paroxysm of love which scorns the miserable knots and fetters of muscle and bone and prefers to dwell only in the loving souls of sympathetic men and sympathetic women.

Sailaválá is a very interesting character. Young, lovely and beautiful, she is also gay, sprightly and humorous. She is like the poet's sky-lark which pours forth rapturous melody whilst flitting about like the tiniest thing in creation. In her childlike simplicity and sprightliness she looks very small and frivolous. But she has a heart which is as large as it is deep. Whilst she is jesting there is no knowing whether her heart is not burning with grief or melting with kindness and pity. She talks the language of a child to express the sentiments of a woman. She is also capable of action. She has a courageous heart and an active spirit which in suitable circumstances might achieve great practical results. In consequence of the defect in the story of *Dípa-nirwan*, noticed above, *Sailaválá* never appears before us in that perfect form which she is capable of assuming. But if full scope for development were given to her she should combine in her own person the three admirable characters of Bankim Chandra—*Mrinalini*, *Vimalá* and *Girijáyá*.

Prabhávatí is not a very marked character. *Goláp* has been already explained.

One of the most charming features of *Dípa-nirwan* is the

chaste poetry which pervades it. Our fair authoress has a fine eye for all that is good and beautiful and sublime around us, and her manner of telling is accordingly poetical from beginning to end. And the excellence and perfection of her taste is amply attested by the exquisite grace, elegance, simplicity, music, and eloquence of her style. She speaks of great and sublime things in the simplest of words and in so far resembles her own *Sailaválá*. Perhaps this is the reason why without much necessity she has introduced *Sailaválá* into her story. It was her kind wish that her readers should know something about herself.

The introduction proves the authoress to be a very learned student of Indian history and antiquities. Perhaps the excellence of her work is in a great measure due to her extensive knowledge of her country's history.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing this book to be by far the best that has yet been written by a Bengali lady, and we should no more hesitate to call it one of the ablest in the whole literature of Bengal.

One word parenthetically. It is usually thought by foreigners that the relation between the sexes in this country is not what it should be. The divine honors paid by the Hindu woman to her husband are believed to imply servitude. It is interesting to know the sentiments of an educated Hindu lady like the authoress of *Dípa-nírwan* in this important matter. Well, there are some words in the book before us which enable us to ascertain this. *Chánd Kavi* joins his wife *Prabhávati* as soon as he is rescued, but is compelled to leave her almost immediately in order to carry the news of *Vijaya's* treachery to Delhi. Whereupon the fair authoress says :—

“প্রভাবতী তাঁহার মস্তকের মণি পাইয়াই আবার হারাইলেন”
“*Prabhávati* loses the jewel of her head almost as soon as she recovers it.”

“মস্তকের মণি” (jewel of the head)—these are the identical words in which the uneducated and orthodox Hindu matron describes her lord.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Indian Mission Directory and Memorial Volume. By the Rev. B. H. Badley of the American Methodist Mission, [Lucknow, American Methodist Mission Press, 1876.]

FROM the motto prefixed to this little volume,—“Where is boasting then? It is excluded,”—one might suppose that missionaries were so given to boasting that the editor had to

exercise a very strict censorship in admitting their accounts of themselves, and that he had put this text as his apology on the title-page for excluding self-laudatory rhetoric, and compelling his unwilling brethren to make their autobiographies after the neat business-like style in which he has written his own. From the preface, however, we gather that though the editor found it necessary to exclude certain eulogistic notices, these were not autobiographical, but written by the friends of deceased missionaries. On the contrary, he says that he found missionaries to be mostly, as we should expect, very reticent in supplying information regarding their lives and labours.

The book bears the appearance of having been compiled in too great haste. A very superficial examination has discovered to us some inaccuracies; and the *Evangelical Review*, a much better judge than ourselves on this point, makes the same complaint. The accounts, too, of the different Societies are very unequal, some being well written, some excessively meagre. A really good sketch of each Missionary Society would alone have made the volume useful and interesting.

Criticism, however, is disarmed by the editor's acknowledgment of the deficiencies of the volume, and his explanation of the difficulties of compiling it and getting it through the press. We should be very wrong not to be grateful to any gentleman who takes the trouble to provide us with useful volumes of this sort; and the energy with which the American Methodists work their press is highly creditable to them, and particularly gratifying in a country where literary pursuits labour under special disabilities.

One thing which strikes us in looking through this directory is that it would give an inadequate idea of the relative efforts of the Church of England and of Dissenting bodies in the Mission field; on this account that, although there are various Dissenting ministers who are much more engaged in English than in native work, they are all put down as missionaries, while there are some chaplains who do a good deal of work among native Christians, and yet because they are chaplains, do not figure in this list. And so corresponding to this is the fact that, whilst the European Missionaries of the Church do not amount to one-third of the whole number at work in India, their converts are nearly half of the total of Protestant native Christians. When we mention that, notwithstanding this, only 31 out of 252 pages in the *Mission Directory* are allowed to the Missionary Societies of the Church, we think that it is evident that a superficial reader of this volume would form an inaccurate idea of what the Church is doing in the Mission field.
